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BY
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CARAVANNING IN DENMARK

by

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AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

Dissertation submitted

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ENGLISH SUMMARY

On the following pages, I discuss the theoretical and methodological underpinnings behind this doctoral work, and clarify the relations between the five publications submitted as parts of this PhD-by publication.

The dissertation focuses on caravanning in Denmark. Caravanning has generally been portrayed through nomadic tropes where the focus is on travelling over great distances and moving from place to place (e.g. White and White, 2007; Onyx & Leonard, 2005; Mings, 1997). Research on caravanning has highlighted the more spectacular and thereby overlooking the mundane and everyday that takes up a lot of time on this type of holiday. In the dissertation, I introduce a focus on the routine, the quotidian and the everyday undercurrents that make up the foundations for the caravan holiday. I draw mainly on three relevant research fields; the mundane and everyday (e.g. Seigworth & Gardiner, 2004; Binnie et al., 2007; Larsen, 2008; Edensor, 2007), the social and family literature (e.g. Larsen, 2008; Obrador, 2012; Schänzel, 2010; Carr, 2011), and the embodied (e.g. Ingold, 2007; Adey, 2013; Vannini, 2011; Trift, 1997). In order to animate caravanning in its extraordinary ordinariness, I include a focus on the sensuous and embodied performances people engage in. This is done through a multimodal approach of using both interviews, observing participation, autoethnography and pictures.

The PhD dissertation opens with a personal childhood memory of one of my own caravan trips. This is introduced as it represents some of the cornerstones of this doctoral work, as well as it exemplifies how profound impressions a seemingly banal moment can have. Furthermore, this recollection shifted my understanding of my research, representing a turning point of gaining a deeper knowledge of the topic I was exploring. This chapter also outlines the main foci of this study by discussing some of the theoretical discourses on caravanning that my study aims to challenge, elaborate on and nuance. Literature on caravanning tends to discount the complex meanings and performances of 'being social', especially within the family. The aim of my dissertation is to flesh out the 'in-between' dynamics of sociality on a family holiday. Furthermore, caravanning is depicted as a break away from the everyday and an escape from the constraints of routine home life. I aim to contest these suggestions of caravanning as a space of liminality and escape, portraying caravanning through spectacular events. Lastly a further contribution to knowledge emerges as I explore the somatic, sensuous performances and orchestrations in and of everyday weather on holiday. The aim is to puncture existing dichotomies and underline the extraordinary ordinariness (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003), and everydayness on holiday. The purpose of my study is thus to explore the quotidian world of caravanning and everyday performances and activities people engage in on this type of holiday. Consequently, I attempt throughout my research to flesh out the

potentials that lie immanent in quotidian, ephemeral moments of meaning- and sense-making.

Chapter 2 is a discussion of the overall theoretical framework of this study. In addition to the literature on caravanning introduced in the beginning, I aim to challenge, nuance and contribute to relevant theoretical underpinnings that has influenced my research process. The body of literature on caravanning is sparse, and being such a multifaceted topic, this chapter includes literature on sociality within tourism, the family holiday and experiences of the family members. This is discussed in a context of the everyday and mundane in tourism. The chapter opens with defining and delimiting the concept of caravanning and exploring some experiences of this holiday. This is followed by a discussion on sociality within tourism, which is further elaborated on within the realm of the family holiday and experiences of individual family members. A consistent theme of the theoretical framework is the everyday in tourism and this is particularly unfolded in the third section by exploring dichotomies of everydayness and exoticism. Finally, staying within the realms of the everyday, I extend the theoretical framework to including reflections on everyday materialities, more specifically, everyday weather.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of the methodological hinterland of the dissertation. It reflects a journey over the three + years of my research process. A journey from a more interpretive basis and moving towards a non-representational influenced study. In the beginning of the study, I was preoccupied with interviews which did provide me with in-depth vibrant accounts of different experiences of caravanning. However, I came to realise that verbalisations cannot to the fullest capture the lifeworld of caravanning, the unreflexive and embodied doings that people found difficult to give words to. As such, in line with non-representational theory, I tried to grasp these mundane, taken-for-granted background practices (Thrift, 1997; Cadman, 2009; Anderson, 2012). My research process, I would argue, moves from a focus on the verbal towards including reflections on the performative, the "presentations", "showings", and "manifestations" of everyday life' (Thrift, 1997: 142). In this dissertation, I work towards highlighting the liveliness of everyday interaction (Vannini, n. d.) by looking at the verbal as well as the doings. Consequently, I focus on these as mutually reinforcing each other, providing a more holistic understanding of caravanning.

Chapter four provides overall conclusions and reflections of the dissertation. I discuss the challenges and prospects of my work on attempting to nuance dichotomies in tourism research and exploring the mundane and everyday. Out of this discussion I draw some promising future research directions, particularly within the everyday, family holidays and everyday materialities.

DANSK RESUME

På de følgende sider diskuterer jeg det teoretiske og metodiske fundament bag denne ph.d. afhandling, og afklarer forholdet mellem de fem vedhæftede publikationer som dele af denne ph.d.

Denne afhandling fokuserer på camping i Danmark. Camping er generelt blevet portrætteret gennem nomadiske diskurser, hvor fokus er på at rejse over store afstande, og flytte sig fra sted til sted (fx White og White, 2007; Onyx & Leonard, 2005; Mings, 1997). Forskning omkring camping har fremhævet det spektakulære, og dermed overset det hverdagslige og banale der optager meget tid på denne ferie. I denne afhandling introducerer jeg et fokus på flygtige øjeblikke, det hverdagslige og de daglige understrømme der udgør grundlaget for campingferien. Jeg trækker primært på tre relevante forskningsområder. Det hverdagslige (fx Seigworth & Gardiner, 2004; Binnie et al., 2007; Larsen, 2008; Edensor, 2007), det sociale og familiemæssige (fx Larsen, 2008; Obrador, 2012; Schänzel, 2010; Carr, 2011), og det sanselige og kropslige (fx Ingold, 2007; Adey, 2013; Vannini, 2011; Trift, 1997). For at animere det ekstraordinært ordinære ser jeg på det sanselige, de handlinger folk engagere sig i, og det sociale aspekt af camping. Dette sker gennem en multimodal tilgang hvor der bruges både interviews, observationer, etnografi og billeder.

Denne ph.d.-afhandling begynder med et personligt barndomsminde fra en af mine egne campingferier. Dette er introduceret, da det repræsenterer nogle af hjørnestenene i denne ph.d.-afhandling. Ydermere er det et eksempel på, hvor dybe indtryk et tilsyneladende banalt øjeblik kan have. Desuden repræsenterer dette minde et vendepunkt i min forskning, hvor jeg fik en dybere forståelse af det emne jeg udforsker. Dette kapitel skitserer også de vigtigste fokuspunkter ved at diskutere nogle af de teoretiske diskurser omkring camping, som min afhandling har til formål at udfordre, uddybe og nuancere. Litteratur omkring camping har tendens til at overse de komplekse betydninger af "at være social", især inden for familielivet. Formålet med min afhandling er at konkretisere, det der sker "ind-i-mellem" det sociale. Desuden ses campingferien som en pause fra hverdagen og en mulighed for at undslippe rutinerne og begrænsningerne i hverdagslivet. Jeg ønsker at bestride disse forestillinger af camping som et sted der er afskåret fra det hverdagslige, og kun er portrætteret gennem spektakulære begivenheder. Slutteligt gives et yderligere bidrag til forskningen ved at introducere et fokus på sanselige og kropslige forestillinger og orkestreringer af vejret. Formålet er at punktere disse dikotomier og understrege det ekstraordinært ordinære (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003), og det hverdagslige på ferie. Derfor forsøger jeg gennem min forskning at konkretisere de potentialer, der ligger immanent i hverdagslige, flygtige øjeblikke af meningsdannelse.

Kapitel 2 er en diskussion af den overordnede teoretiske ramme for denne afhandling. Udover litteraturen om camping introduceret i begyndelsen, er formålet at udfordre, nuance og bidrage til relevante teoretiske områder der har influeret min forskningsproces. Litteratur om camping er sparsom, og da det er et mangesidet emne, omfatter dette kapitel litteratur om det sociale indenfor turisme, familieferie og individuelle familiemedlemmers oplevelser. Dette diskuteres i en overordnet kontekst af det hverdagslige i turismen. Kapitlet indledes med en definition og afgrænsning af begrebet camping, og udforsker nogle oplevelser omkring denne ferie. Dette efterfølges af en diskussion om det sociale indenfor turisme, som bliver yderligere uddybet igennem diskussioner af familieferien. Et gennemgående tema for den teoretiske ramme er hverdagen i turisme, og dette kommer særligt i fokus i den tredje sektion hvor jeg udforsker dikotomier af det hverdagslige og eksotisme. Indenfor det hverdagslige udvides den teoretiske ramme til at inkludere overvejelser omkring hverdagens materialiteter, mere specifikt, dagligdagsvejr.

Kapitel 3 er en diskussion af afhandlingens metodiske bagland. Det afspejler en rejse gennem de tre + år af min forskningsproces. En rejse fra et mere interpretivistisk grundlag til et mere ikke-repræsentationelt fokus. I begyndelsen af studiet var jeg optaget af interviews, som gav mig dybdegående og levende beretninger og erfaringer omkring camping. Men jeg indså at det verbale ikke til fulde kan fange campinglivsverdenen, de ureflekterede og kropslige aktiviteter som folk fandt vanskeligt at sætte ord på. I overensstemmelse med ikke-repræsentativ teori, forsøgte jeg at forstå disse hverdagslige, taget-for-givet baggrundspraksisser (Thrift, 1997; Cadman, 2009; Anderson, 2012). Jeg vil hævde at min forskningsproces har bevæget sig fra et fokus på det verbale, til refleksioner omkring det performative, ”præsentationerne”, ”fremvisningerne” og ”manifestationerne” af hverdagen (Thrift, 1997: 142). I denne afhandling arbejder jeg på at fremhæve de livlige hverdagsinteraktioner (Vannini, n. D.), ved at se på det verbale såvel som performativiteter. Derfor fokuserer jeg på disse som gensidigt forstærkende, hvilket giver en mere holistisk forståelse af campingferien.

Kapitel fire indeholder overordnede konklusioner og refleksioner af afhandlingen. Jeg diskuterer udfordringer og perspektiver for mit formål med at nuancere dikotomier i turismeforskning, og udforskningen af det hverdagslige. Ud fra denne diskussion foreslår jeg nogle fremtidige forskningsretninger, især inden for det daglige, familieferier og det materielle.

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I would also like to thank my mom, dad and sister for going caravanning with me as a child. Through these trips and your outlook on life in general, you taught me how in the most banal of moments is where love and life is. Most importantly, my deepest gratitude goes to my soon-to-be husband and my son who give it all meaning.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

I'm roaming about on a caravan site with a friend I met on holiday. We're running wherever we want, crossing through one lot, into another, jumping over tent poles, weaving through caravans, tents and RVs. It's raining, pouring down, and puddles of rain are forming all over. We deliberately aim for them, getting a thrill out of them splashing up as we run through them. I am barefoot and happy, running around free and safe. We spend that summer hanging out on the site, telling tales on the beach. After that summer, we stayed pen pals for years.

The text above seeks to account for this one vivid autobiographical memory trait I have from a caravan trip. I am about 9 years old, caravanning in Italy with my parents and my older sister. The image is of me running around the site, weaving through caravans and tents with a friend I met on holiday. This memory came to me early in my PhD studies during a lengthy, tedious transcription of an interview that seemed to never end. This short memory glimpse may seem quite insignificant to some, but I chose to open my dissertation with it for two reasons; first of all, it shifted my approach and understanding of the phenomenon I was trying to unravel. It was such a lucid memory and it still invokes strong feelings of joy, 20 years later. It exemplifies to me the vast and profound impressions a seemingly banal moment can have. Since this 'epiphany' I approached my work with more respect and candour. Second of all, it neatly epitomises some of the main contributions and foci of the dissertation. It emanated from a situation that to many may seem miniscule and ordinary, perhaps even undesirable, caravanning in the rain. But it reflects a main cornerstone that is consistent throughout this work, the quest to accentuate the everyday, the banal and the ordinary (Binnie et al., 2007; Edensor, 2007; Seigworth & Gardiner, 2004; Harrison, 2000; Larsen, 2008).

Furthermore, the fact that we were running around by ourselves, without any form of adult supervision (as I remember it), suggests to me a space of (constructed) safety, which is another point of focus. Lastly, this pleasant summer holiday memory took place in the rain; in fact, the rain is essential, a feature which has not been accentuated much in tourism research. Pertaining to this opening recollection, the banality and everydayness of this and similar experiences may have meant that they have been overlooked by the intellectualised researcher gaze (Crang, 1997) that favours the more spectacular and grand.

Tourism research tends to focus on the individual tourist leaving the everyday at home to go to exotic destinations, preferably as far away from other tourists as

possible (e.g. Malone, McCabe & Smith, 2014; Jokinen & Veijola, 1997; Mehmetoglu, Dann, Larsen, 2001; Priya & Cresswell, 2008). Research on caravanning tends to echo these discourses, drawing attention to the marvellous at the expense of the mundane. This also means featuring the individual tourist and thereby overlooking the importance of sociality. Or, as Hassell, Moore and Macbeth's (2015) study on the experiences of campers in two national parks in Western Australia abandoning it altogether. They found push factors for going camping to be the desire to escape and disconnect from others. Other studies on caravanning fleetingly mention the aspect of being social (e.g. Triantafillidou & Siomkos, 2013; Garst, Williams & Roggenbuck, 2009; Collins & Kearns, 2010; Jirásek, Roberson & Jirásková, 2016). However, they discount the complex meanings and performances of 'being social', giving the impression that sociality is a constant, harmonious condition of caravanning. This is particularly prevalent within studies including the sociality of the family. For example, Garst, Williams and Roggenbuck (2009) found that camping positively influences social interactions among family members. They argue that camping "improved family functioning, which was attributed to family members spending time together, being active together, and listening to one another." (2009: 97). Like the majority of studies mentioning the social aspect of caravanning, it portrays sociality one-sidedly and focus on the 'togetherness' of the family and fails to unpack the dynamic constellations of individual needs and wants. In line with this, Collins and Kearns (2010) argue that going caravanning is closely connected to idealised versions of family life, without discussing whether this idealisation reflects the actual experiences of the family holiday. Studies on caravanning thus give a simplified understanding of sociality and how it is experienced and performed, including knowledge about all that happens 'in-between' sociality. Furthermore, they largely omit performances of 'own time', in-between being with family. To remedy these omissions, I aim to explore the dynamics within sociality on multiple levels, i.e., the sociability of the caravan holiday in general and the sociality of the family. I attempt to flesh out the 'in-between' sociality by looking into 'family time' and 'own time' as interdependent entities. This is done by drawing on and contributing to consisting research on these topics (e.g. Schänzel & Smith, 2014; Larsen, 2013; Gram, 2005; Therkelsen, 2010; Bronner and de Hoog, 2008).

The idealised notion of family togetherness on holiday is often portrayed through a break from the everyday and escape from structures and rules. In the academic literature on caravanning there is a strong tendency to view particularly people travelling in recreational vehicles (henceforth referred to as RVs) as motivated by a desire to experience freedom and escape the constraints of routine home life (Counts & Counts, 2004; Hardy & Gretzel, 2011; Mings & McHugh, 1995; Onyx & Leonard, 2005). Although some research mentions the aspect of 'home-away-from-home' (White & White, 2007; Viallon, 2012; Holloway & Holloway, 2011), everyday performances and mundane experiences have not been studied in depth. As Hardy, Gretzel and Hanson (2013: 48) contend, "marketing campaigns for RVs

support this quest for freedom and escape, by creating vehicles with names such as Diversion, Escape, Flite and Discovery" representing an escape from the routines and normalities of daily life. These studies depict caravanning as a liminal space where people are moving from the profane to the sacred (Graburn, 1989), from the ordinary to the extraordinary (Brooker & Joppe, 2014; Hassell, Moore & Macbeth, 2015). I contest these suggestions of caravanning as a space of liminality and escape as they feed into rigid dichotomies of 'home' and 'away', and the 'everyday' and 'escape', portraying caravanning through spectacular events. The majority of studies on caravanning (e.g. Guinn, 1980; Brooker & Joppe, 2013; Garst, Williams & Roggenbuck, 2009; Mahadevan, 2013; Hardy, Hanson & Gretzel, 2012; Triantafillidou & Siomkos, 2013; Kearns, Collins & Bates, 2016) inscribe caravanning into a context of liminality, quickly glossing over mundane experiences and the undercurrent of everydayness that flows through these spectacular events. I challenge these discourses, by fleshing out the immanent potentials in quotidian, ephemeral moments of meaning- and sense-making. This is done among other things by researching the concept of freedom that dispels these nomadic, adventurous and exotic tropes.

In connection to the preoccupation with escaping the everyday lies the promise of escaping everyday weather such as rain, grey skies, and wind. Going on summer holiday is generally portrayed as leaving everyday weather and travelling to sunny, blue skies (e.g. Maddison, 2001; Lohmann & Kaim, 1999; Rutty & Scott, 2010; Gómez-Martín, 2004). However, a summer holiday offers all kinds of weather, from sunny to murky, grey, moist, dry, wet and windy. In relation to this study, everyday weather has a significant importance as people spend a lot of time outside. This theme has however received very little attention. The few studies on caravanning which mention weather tend to focus on heliocentric nomadic movements. For example, Viallon (2012) stated that the main reason people travel in RVs is to search for warmer weather. Research on RVs accentuates this moving from place to place, travelling over great distances, usually to chase sunnier skies (e.g. White and White, 2007; Onyx & Leonard, 2005; Mings 1997). One exception is Hassell, Moore and Macbeth (2015) who found that people experienced camping in cool, wet weather as an adventure and a challenge in itself. This is an example of caravanning portrayed through spectacular and adventurous events but it overlooks the experiences of the embodied caravanners and their interactions with materialities such as weather, in particular everyday, grey, drizzling, windy weather. As such, this is also explored in order to introduce materialities, which are absent from research on caravanning acknowledging the materialities and fundamental capacities of how we perform and negotiate with weather. In this dissertation, I focus on the somatic, sensuous performances and orchestrations in and of weather.

The overall intention with this dissertation is to contribute to tourism research on the mundane and banal by exploring these concepts within the lifeworld of caravanning. I am in no way attempting to set forth an exhaustive presentation of all the

mundanities and banalities that exist in these spaces, even though I have dedicated three years to some more, some less, intense periods of focused work on caravanning, resulting in interviews, observations, personal journals, poetry, pictures and videos and experienced caravanning with my "lived-living body" (Mels, 2004: 5). This cannot capture all the aspects of the lifeworld of caravanning, the noises, the smells and the bodily experiences. Still, this dissertation envelops itself with the mundanities of everyday encounters, the ordinary, the trivial, the unreflexive, routinely practiced regular patterns of everyday micro-mobilities. It does so from a social perspective by exploring how families experience and inhabit these mundane spaces. My research thus embraces "the polyrhythmical fluctuations of the everyday's contingent eventfulness and overdetermined uneventfulness." (Seigworth & Gardiner, 2004: 141) and tries to spell out the moments of 'doing nothing' on holiday. This is done in order to challenge nomadic discourses and give attention to the undercurrent everydayness that flows through these spectacular events. This is done by exploring the concepts of freedom and weather in a mundane and banal framework. This feeds into another focus of my doctoral work, that is to reflect on the embodied and habitualised (Berger & Luckmann, 1989 [1966]) practices that take up much time on caravan holidays. This part of the dissertation examines how everyday activities on holiday can be afforded and prevented by materialities, and in return how bodies divert and shape these materialities. Hence, the focus is on the "reciprocal interplay between embodied persons and materialized things" (Ingold, 2007: 30). The purpose of this part of the dissertation is to explore holiday experiences at Danish caravan sites by including the body and approaching embodiment as an assemblage where the sensuous meets the moving, sensing body (Dewsbury, 2010). The study seeks to appreciate the ways in which people as embodied beings narrate and behave in mundane spaces. It focuses on how caravanning is experienced through discourses and explores how it is performed through mundane doings. Introducing both voices and doings help to create a better sense of how caravanning is experienced verbally and the actual doings in the moments of meaning making. This multidimensionality is particularly important here as caravanning entails a range of unreflexively performed everyday practices that can be difficult to verbalise. To summarise, I borrow a quote from Lorimer (2005: 84):

> "The focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions"

An aim of the thesis is therefore to puncture dichotomies of individual/'mass', home/away and extraordinary/ordinary wherein freedom and weather are accentuated. In this, I aim to underline the extraordinary ordinariness (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003) and the everydayness on holiday. The caravan site is a particularly fruitful context to look into these everyday, ordinary situations and trivial encounters as it is a place *buzzing* with slow movements and *bursting* with minuscule events.

The purpose of my study is thus to explore the quotidian world of caravanning and the everyday performances and activities people engage in on this type of holiday. This dissertation concerns itself with the often-overlooked undercurrents of these everyday concepts that often carry much larger matters with them. Consequently, focusing on everyday mundanities and banalities does not entail a one-level focus. It means transcending the mundane and transgressing the banal.

Overall, this thesis is placed within a family experiences framework and draws on theories on the embodied, social, mundane and the everyday. The aims are outlined in four inter-related considerations guiding my research:

How is sociality and 'doing nothing' experienced at a caravan site?

How is families time together and apart performed at a caravan site?

How does the everyday inform experiences of freedom at a caravan site?

How is everyday weather negotiated at a caravan site?

In order to delimit my focus, the main themes are outlined in the articles introduced below. The themes of the articles are built upon gaps identified in the literature that originate from the empirical knowledge.

The first article offers a more general overview of some of the main discursive elements of caravanning that will be explored further. The article '*Vacability and Sociability as Touristic Attraction'*[1] presents fundamental knowledge and an overview of some of the main themes, namely being social and being able to relax. Going more in depth with families going caravanning, I explore the activities and experiences they engage in, together and apart. *'We haven't seen the kids for hours': The case of Family Holidays and 'Own Time'* explores 'family time' and children's

[1] The data for this article were collected prior to the beginnings of this dissertation by the second supervisor. In this instance, the PhD student was named second author (see co-author declaration for paper 1 for further information).

'own time' as interdependent entities on holiday. Fleshing out some aspects of the extraordinary ordinariness of caravanning, the third article, '*Freedom in Mundane Mobilities: Caravanning in Denmark'*, challenges representations of freedom as occurring through exoticised, masculinised and individualised practices, and pays attention to the domestic, banal contexts where the everyday and tourism intersect. The final article, '*Weaving Through Weather on a Danish Caravan site'* goes into depth with the materiality of weather and how people negotiate and move through weather on holiday.

In the following section, I account for the broader theoretical foundations for this dissertation. The next chapter centres on the methodological hinterland, the research process and choices pertaining to this. Along the way there will be short thought intermissions (called interludes) discussing parts of my process that may not directly 'fit' in to the study. However, I would argue, these interludes are relevant and interesting to include because they pave the way for the reflections and conclusions that the reader is presented with in the very last chapter of this dissertation. Before we start the journey through these chapters by turning to the theoretical matters, I will define and delimit my theoretical approach to studying caravanning.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I outline the broader theoretical framework that has helped to inform my research in addition to the theoretical tropes on caravanning that I aim to challenge, nuance and contribute to, and the considerations that influenced my research process. As mentioned, the body of literature on caravanning is sparse, and being such a multifaceted topic, caravanning touches on quite diverse themes making it a challenge to assemble a theoretical framework. A theoretical framework is to be made up of the most relevant theoretical contributions on the topic. However, a theoretical framework will always reflect the choices of the researcher, her worldview and understanding of the topic. The framework evolved during the process as I have discussed earlier and some ideas were developed early on while others emerged through the many iterations that characterise my data analysis. The end 'product' may thus reflect a patchwork of different theoretical scopes. The aim is to unpack some of these entanglements and hopefully present a cohesive and legitimate patchwork that comes together in the end. This chapter starts with a definition and delimitation of the concept of caravanning, including reflections on experiences of this holiday. This is followed by a discussion on sociality within tourism, which directly feeds into reflections on the family holiday and the experiences of the family members. This is discussed in a consistent theme of the everyday in tourism. Finally, staying within the realms of the everyday, I extend this theoretical framework to including reflections on everyday materialities, and more specifically, everyday weather.

2.1. CARAVANNING

Going caravanning or going camping is a type of holiday that most people have experienced. Some have fond childhood memories of roaming free on a caravan site, being together with family and roasting marshmallows over a bonfire. Others may recall dreadful trips with claustrophobic closeness to the family and other caravanners, dirty common bathrooms and waking up drenched in sweat in a 100-degree tent. These and other examples illustrate caravanning as a heterogeneous and multidimensional concept encompassing a variety of images and experiences for different people. It includes diverse modes of transport and dwelling. Furthermore, there are many ways of 'doing' caravanning making it a type of holiday which is difficult to define and delimit. Despite this complexity, I will attempt to delimit the span and focus of this dissertation. Following this, I will reflect on what makes up some of the experiences of the caravan holiday.

2.1.1. DEFINITIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

Caravanning has historically formed a central part of Danish tourism (Den jyske Historiker, 2012). What began as a Sunday trip to the countryside for pleasure and recreational purposes soon evolved to longer trips over longer distances while bringing more amenities. In the beginning, caravanning took place at rather primitive and spartan sites, usually located in a clearing in the woods or a grass field where one could pitch the tent and start a fire. These sites where mostly user-driven. The first official campsite in Denmark was established in 1926 (Den Jyske Historiker, 2012), in 1935 there were 21 sites and today there are around 500 sites (Naturstyrelsen, 2014). The main nationalities visiting Danish caravan sites are Danes, Germans, Swedes, Dutch and Norwegians (Campingraadet, 2012). Some sites are run by a municipality; others are privately owned and managed. Most caravan sites are members of The Danish Camping Board, which acts as a link between owner organisations, user organisations and the authorities. The Danish Camping Board approves, classifies and monitors caravan sites in Denmark. Based on the classification system, campsites are given a star rating, and the standard is monitored at least once each year (www.en.campingraadet.dk).

Today, the sites have evolved into something quite different than the primitive sites of the 1930ties, but some of the characteristics people were drawn to then are still present today. Most caravan sites in Denmark are located at the coastlines while some are placed close to cities and towns, amusement parks, lakes or streams. A caravan site is an architecturally bounded area, usually by a natural fence such as dense shrubs, brick walls or wooden fences. I write 'architecturally bounded' because I would argue that a caravan site stretches across and beyond the fences that may surround it, spilling into to the surrounding landscape and moving with the weather. You enter the site by paying a fee depending on the number of people and how many days you are staying. Then you find your lot and pitch your tent, set up your caravan or simply unlock the door to your cottage. The sites usually have common kitchens where you can do your dishes and cook food. Furthermore, there are common bathrooms, toilet facilities, sewage dumping stations and laundry facilities. At some sites, there is the option of getting a personal bath and toilet (in addition to the one in the dwelling unit). These sites span from more spartan sites with electricity and running water to elaborate sites with on-site restaurants, miniature golf, swimming pools, cafes etc.

Caravanning is difficult to define and delimit as it takes on a range of different meanings depending on context. This is especially the case at Danish caravan sites where you find an array of different dwelling units at one site. The term 'caravanning' was chosen in this study as an overarching concept. In this dissertation, the concept 'caravanning' is defined as a leisurely activity of dwelling

temporarily in more or less mobile units such as camper-vans, pop-tops, caravans, tents, cottages or RVs (see also Blichfeldt & Mikkelsen, 2015). Tents and cottages do not typically belong under the 'caravan' definition but are here included as integral elements of the caravan site-mix. The study includes people travelling in all these dwelling units, however, the majority are people travelling in caravans (overview in appendix A). The following list outlines the different dwelling units:

- The caravan is the most common dwelling unit. The caravan is towed behind a car, it usually includes a small cooking stove, kitchen facilities, toilet, bath and a few sleeping facilities.

- The RV is a motor based vehicle featuring the same assets as the caravan but it is usually larger. Especially in the US we find overwhelmingly large RVs that are highly customized with luxury components.

- The cottage is a fixed, small house with a well-equipped kitchen, bathroom and sleeping facilities. They can vary in size from small cottages that sleep a few people to larger cottages with room for several people.

- The tent is usually brought along in a car or on a bicycle and typically features one single space or perhaps an extra front space for sitting and a small cooker.

- The pop-top is a van where the roof can be raised and lowered. Usually it includes a few sleeping facilities and space for a small stove.

- The camper trailer is a trailer with an integrated tent, and is towed behind a car. The tent folds out of the trailer and is usually divided into two rooms, one of them for sleeping.

Figure 1 Dwelling units (all photos used in this dissertation were taken by researchers affiliated with this project)

As the outline reflects, caravanning encompasses a broad and diverse mix of dwelling units. Some are more static and seems anchored more solidly to the ground, such as the cottage seemingly being more still with its fixed floors and permanent walls. Other dwelling units appear more mobile like the RV, a car and dwelling unit in one allowing one to up and leave at any time, moving from place to place as one pleases. However, these fixities and flows are perhaps not as straightforward as first assumed. For example, people dwelling in cottages can be much more mobile than those in RVs. People can move from one cottage on one site to another on a different site, while the RV can dwell at one site for months. These still/mobile dichotomies are nuanced by means of the non-representational focus of this study (see chapter 3) wherein the caravan site is constantly being made and remade in the reciprocal interplay between people and materials. This is underpinned by use of a dwelling perspective which approaches place as a kind of practice (Vannini & Taggart, 2012), for example movement, stillness, and encounters that constitute our lifeworld. Dwelling can mean "to hesitate, to linger, to delay…*to dwell*…simply means to pause, to stay put for a length of time; it implies we will eventually move on" (Jackson, 1984: 91). The concept of dwelling was coined by Heidegger and has more recently been reworked by Ingold (1993; 1995). Since, several researches have worked with the concept of dwelling in a tourism context (e.g. Macnaghten & Urry, 1998; Ingold, 2011; Obrador Pons, 2003; Cloke & Jones, 2001). Applying the notion of dwelling, I do not look at the caravan site as a bounded field of static enclaves, but rather I focus on the interstices and the circulation in-between places, the everyday micro-mobilities in and around these everyday spaces, between flow and fixity (Jensen, 2009). Having briefly considered

some of the aspects of caravanning and the dwelling units I will move on to the dwellers.

2.1.2. PEOPLE GOING CARAVANNING

Before I dive into the extensive world of people going caravanning, I would like to reflect on the term 'caravanner', which I use at times to capture this heterogeneous mass. First of all, as shall be discussed below, this term covers a diverse spectrum of people with different motivations, characteristics, wishes and demands. Furthermore, some people who holiday at caravan sites do not consider themselves caravanners. Instead some refer to themselves as nomads or gypsies or prefer no 'label' at all. However, as mentioned, caravanners do share spheres of motivational similarities (e.g. Garst, Williams & Roggenbuck, 2009; Collins & Kearns, 2010). The aim of this chapter is to flesh out this term and unpack the differences it holds.

The richness of dwelling units and their different connotations also apply to people who go caravanning. Caravanning is beloved by a myriad of people, 'doing' caravanning in various forms, some staying in one place, others moving around. Some weave small paths of daily webs, while others constantly move beyond the site, all at different paces and rhythms. Despite the diversity, caravanners have been studied as a group in different contexts and under different names (e.g. recreational vehicle tourists, snowbirds and RV'ing neo-tribes (e.g. Guinn 1980; Viallon 2012; Hardy, Hanson & Gretzel, 2012). These and other studies have suggested that caravanners share some motivational characteristics, among them, the experience of freedom (Viallon, 2012; Hardy, 2007; Fallon & Clutterbuck 2011), being close to nature (Brooker & Joppe, 2013; Triantafillidou & Siomkos, 2013), community feeling (Janiskee, 1990; Jobes, 1984; Newton, 2008) and social interaction (Garst, Williams & Roggenbuck, 2009; Collins & Kearns, 2010). Though these shared characteristics have been mentioned by different researchers, there is a lack of research on the diversity and comprehensiveness that these concepts hold. In this dissertation, I acknowledge and accentuate the manifold diversified and at times contradictory vibrant performances and experiences of caravanners, although I acknowledge that this can never be done fully. As mentioned previously, these places are constituted of complex webs of relationships between flows and fixities, mobility and standstill. This also applies to caravanners. Some stay for a few days at one site before moving on to the next. These people tend to use their dwelling unit as a means to see different parts of the country and use the caravan site as a point of departure for experiencing of-site surrounding sights. Others spend more time at fewer locations and perhaps visit two sites, staying approximately one week at each site. Some stay at one Danish caravan site during spring and fall, but drive thousands of kilometres during the summer to caravan in sunnier countries. Others still own a

semi-permanent caravan dwelling at one site for years before perhaps moving it to a different site.

Caravanners are often repeat visitors, returning to the same site summer after summer. This means that they have deep knowledge of both the site and the area, what to see and how to behave. Furthermore, caravanners have certain expressions associated with the caravan holiday (some that the researcher took quite some time to understand). For example, a 'mover' (an electronic devise helping to manoeuvre the caravan) or a trangia (also known as a stove cooker). These shared concepts illustrate the unique ecology at a caravan site, the fact that it is almost experienced as a small world in itself, a neighbourhood. This is also reflected in the feeling of safety that prevails at these sites. This is particularly relevant for the families I met (Johns & Gyimóthy 2002), who make up the majority of interviewees (see appendix A). The definition of families in this dissertation is quite fluid. Families going caravanning represent a diverse range of combinations of parents, grandparents, other adults and children meeting up and splitting up again, from larger to smaller groups to a few solo travellers. For example, I experienced empty nesters (55+) travelling alone for one week and the next week their grandchildren arrived (this marking the beginning of the grandchildren's summer vacation while their parents were still working). Five days later the children's parents would arrive having the whole family gathered for a few days before the grandparents went home and the parents and children would stay, enjoying some time together (and apart). I also talked to younger people (aged 25-35) who borrowed their parents' car and brought a couple of tents staying on the site for about a week to be together as a group. As diverse as caravanners are, their motivational paths still cross and meet in intersections of ordinary moments of extraordinary experiences both in movement and stillness, in a home away from home.

As this illustrates, caravan sites are places of wide variety from the dwelling units to the people visiting. However, the aim of this dissertation is not to consider differences and similarities between these different dwelling units. Nor is it to explore different needs and demands for for example a 20-year-old Dane in a caravan and a 65-year old German travelling in a tent. Rather I look into some of the multisensuous performances of everyday practices that people engage in when caravanning. How caravanning is 'done' and experienced in embodied, everyday doings. In the following, I will discuss some of these experiences and practices.

2.1.3. THE EVERYDAY IN CARAVANNING

As mentioned, the literature tends to portray caravanning as a space of liminality, a break from the quotidian, the routine and repetitiveness of the everyday (e.g. Fallon & Clutterbuck, 2011; Jobes, 1984; Jirásek, Roberson & Jirásková, 2016). However,

as briefly mentioned by a few studies (White & White, 2007; Viallon, 2012; Holloway & Holloway, 2011) and as overwhelmingly apparent during my fieldwork, the everyday and mundane has a ubiquitous presence at a caravan site. A lot of time is spend engaging in everyday practices such as taking out the trash, cleaning, doing dishes, grocery shopping and cooking. Besides from this, people point out seemingly commonplace doings as central to the caravanning holiday experience such as taking a walk, going on a bike ride, or reading a book.

Figure 2 Everyday doings

A large part of research on caravanning tends to focus on the great distances (some) people travel and, by large ignores the extensive everydayness that prevails once

they have reached their destination. Furthermore, the way these doings are accentuated suggests that they entail much more than repetitive chores, but rather transgress the banal and provide people with thick experiences. A few studies have mentioned caravanning as 'home-away-from-home' (Viallon, 2012; White & White, 2007; Jafari, 1993). As Viallon argues, this 'home on wheels' is "considered more a home than a vehicle." (2012: 2081). These spaces are made homely through grounded routines such as cooking, cleaning and grocery shopping. Furthermore, the majority of these practices are collectively experienced as people cross paths when cooking in the common kitchen, doing dishes together, walking the dog, etc. Thus, the space itself affords certain opportunities and constraints meshed with the daily routine performances (Edensor, 2007). As such, these spaces can be viewed as made up by 'task-scapes' (Ingold, 1993) that are reproduced by the unreflexive habits performed within them. Caravanning thus blurs the boundaries between 'home' and 'away' as it involves home-like practices in familiar spaces (Schutz, 1944; Uriely, 2010) as much as extraordinary holiday practices. Caravanners who return to the same spot for years might feel more at home as they are increasingly becoming more familiar with the surroundings than 'newcomers' (Fallov, Jørgensen & Knudsen, 2013; Collins & Kearns, 2010). We interviewed people who had gained lifelong friendships that began as returning neighbors at a caravan site. We also met people who travelled with their neighbors from home, extending the home-away-from-home notion. Some dwelling units were characterized by several 'homely' touches such as small fences, lawn ornaments, tool sheds, pillows and duvets from home, pots and pans and more personal items than you could ever fit into a suitcase. Consequently, people bring their 'home' with them, both their dwelling unit and in the materialities as visualized by figure 3.

Figure 3 Amenities from home

Holloway and Holloway (2011: n.d.) argue that "The interior and exterior spaces of these mobile dwellings allow for easy enactment of everyday, domestic routines." This of course, refers to skilled caravanners, and I would still argue, that the size of the dwelling unit and the fact that it is still a home *away* from home can make some of these everyday domestic routines less than easily enacted. Some have argued that a feeling of privacy is important to feeling at home (Shani, 2013; Watson & Austerberry, 1985), and this understanding was considered by some of the people interviewed. For example, people often stay in quite small enclosed dwelling units. Sometimes, the whole family sleeps in one room, and even if you have separate spaces for the parents and the children for example, the 'walls' are typically symbolic separations of the room where all sounds penetrate. This came up in the interviews where people reluctantly admitted that the confined spaces could at times lead to conflicts in the family, especially in longer periods of rain. Consequently, feeling at home also carries with it some negative connotations. However, the close sociality that is found on caravan sites was most often referred to in positive terms. People found that there existed a relaxed sociability where 'everyone says hello to everyone' without there being a need to engage in long conversations. Additionally, Collins and Kearn (1999: 173) studied coastal camping in New Zealand and found that the site "allows for social interaction between strangers and casual acquaintances, in contrast to the privatism often found in cities." This is an example of how, even though this is experienced as a home-away-from-home where one engages in homely doings, we can still draw differences between the caravan site and the everyday at home.

As such, portraying caravanning as a break from everyday structures, rules and regulations might paint a rosy picture of a utopian place sans rules, structure, stress and the like. However, people are still influenced by everyday elements such as opening hours of on-site stores, restaurants, cafes and receptions. Furthermore, there are rules about noise and other 'informal' rules of where to dwell and how to behave (see figure 4).

Figure 4 Rules and regulations

Consequently, even though people may experience this place as a break from the everyday they are still surrounded by structures and regulations, both formal and informal. As mentioned, people are often repeat visitors and over time develop knowledge on 'appropriate' behavior. As Edensor (2000) argues, tourists engage in performances of expected and 'appropriate' actions. Consequently, tourism is not characterized by the suspension of norms and rules but "like the everyday, culturally informed by particular notions about what to do, and how and where to do it." (Edensor, 2007: 201). As such, there also exists a range of informal rules about what to do and what not to do that seems embedded within peoples understanding of these places. These are for example saying hello to fellow caravanners, not letting your children be too loud at 7am, or having your dog barking outside the caravan all day. Consequently, the world of caravanning is a bricolage of people, materialities, fixity and flow. It is saturated with banal practicalities and spectacular experiences, boredom, excitement, ephemeral encounters and impressions lasting for life. Having reflected on some of the aspects that defines and delimits caravanning and caravanners, I move on to the broader theoretical reflections on sociality, the family, the mundane and the everyday, and materialities.

2.2. SOCIALITY ON HOLIDAY

Talking about sociality in tourism, we are going to take a quick journey back in time to some of the earliest theorizations of tourism as a social phenomenon by Boorstin (1992 [1987]) and MacCannell (1976). Boorstin saw tourism as inauthentic and made up of pseudo-events and according to him, tourists actively sought out superficial, contrived experiences. Criticising this, MacCannell contended that

tourists seek out authentic experiences (missing from their everyday life), but constantly fail, and only experience what he called ‘‘staged authenticity” (MacCannell, 1973, 1976). While MacCannell argued for a more immersed tourist, he retains that social alienation provides the motive for travel (Franklin, 2009). Consequently, both portray ‘the tourist’ in a disdainful manner, omitting sociality on holiday. Relating to this, the traveller is usually described in more generous ways. The traveller is often depicted as someone engaging in self-discovery and immersion in local cultures whereas a tourist is part of a crowd and engages only with the surface (McCotter, 2007; Hadfield, 2014; Boorstin, 1992). Still, the social is left out as the traveller is a solitary figure, disconnected from the touristic crowd. As Obrador (2012: 406) argues, ”tourism theory tends to make a fundamental distinction between the solitary middle class traveler (sic) in search of the exotic and the gregarious, working class tourist enjoying the crowds.” In both instances, the social is absent. The traveller purposely avoids socialising with others while the tourist is portrayed as being part of a disengaged mass where there is no intentional socialisation. Since, these dualities have been contested and challenged and the concept of the tourist has been unpacked in more nuanced and acknowledging ways. However, the experiences of being social on holiday have continuously been undermined in favour of individualised renditions or by overlooking the diversity of the homogenous touristic crowd (Rojek, 1995; Larsen, 2008; Manderscheid, 2014).

Looking at accounts of backpacker culture for example, they tend to identify the importance of backpacking as individual identity projects (Elsrud, 2001; Matthews, 2009; Noy, 2004) and accentuate travelling “off the beaten track”, away from other tourists. Again, we see a portraying of tourists as a bothersome crowd one seeks to distance oneself from – both physical and psychological. In line with this, Gillespie (2006) claims that tourists criticize and scorn other tourists, accentuating individualism as a main objective. In line with this, Jacobsen argues that “many anti-tourists believe that the possibilities of experiencing something authentic and typical are inversely proportional to the number of tourists present in an area.” (2000: 287). Consequently, tourism research has generally highlighted the individual tourist, leaving the everyday at home to go to exotic destinations, preferably away from other tourists (e.g. Malone, McCabe & Smith, 2014; Mehmetoglu, Dann & Larsen, 2001; Dann, 1999). These ‘other tourists’ are a somewhat undefined group of people. Opposing the individual tourist (or traveller) there is the ‘mass’, a homogenous group moving together, reflecting the earlier mentioned portraying of the tourist. Dominant frameworks dismiss the diversity of practices in mass tourism (Löffgren, 1999; Obrador, Crang & Travlou, 2009) and the contexts they move in are often represented as non-places (Augé, 1995). As Obrador argues “the prevailing view is still that exemplified in the classic work of Turner & Ash (1975) which vilifies mass tourism as uncultured, uncaring and alienating.” (2012: 402), presenting tourists as ‘Turistas vulgaris’, only found in herds, droves, swarms and flocks (Löfgren, 1999: 264; Franklin & Crang, 2001). Hereby dismissing the diverse and individual experiences and practices tourists engage in on holiday. These

experiences and practices can include an array of different doings. It can be quite 'grand' experiences such as climbing a mountain or visiting (and photographing) the Taj Mahal, or it can mean seemingly non-spectacular experiences such as pottering about at a caravan site or sitting in front of a tent. In these instances, it may be more a question of being 'freed' from experiences. Not arguing that these mundane doings of 'doing nothing' are nothing in themselves. Rather, in accordance with Ehn and Löfgren's (2010) finding that many of the mundane activities they studied are in fact rather complex, I suggest that a lot is actually happening 'when nothing special seems to be going on' (209). As such, tourism research has at times presented antagonistic interpretations of 'the tourist', her motivations and the performances she engages in. Dichotomous discourses of the tourist tend to represent the tourist as either being part of a 'mass' or breaking away and travelling in total solitude.

Tourism studies have largely ignored sociality and 'thereby overlooked how much tourist travel is concerned with (re)producing social relations' (Larsen, 2008: 25). However, tourist experiences are in fact often collectively based, and sociality is part of what makes them pleasurable (Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen, & Urry, 2004; Larsen, 2008). I agree with Holdsworth (2013) in arguing that all mobility is relational, we move to be together with other people and this is particularly evident with travelling. Being a tourist is about individuals interacting with family, friends, communities and society more widely (Hanson, 2010). It is not about either breaking away from others or being part of a 'herd' or 'crowd', moving about as one while being completely oblivious to the other tourists moving with you. Being a tourist should not be seen as 'either/or', either travelling in total solitude or being constant part of a homogenous group. It should be seen in the interstices and the to-and-from being a *social individual*, refashioning these relations in a more complex spatial geometry of intimacy. Sociality on holiday is actively choosing to spend time together with other people, friends, family and at other times spending time engaging in individual performances. Relating to caravanning, people actively and deliberately seek the company of other tourists as well as spending time with family and kin. Thus, sociality and sociability are fundamental reasons why people engage in this seemingly mundane type of holiday (Blichfeldt & Mikkelsen, 2013). Being social is consistent throughout the ecology of the caravan holiday, from the sociality that the site itself affords with its common kitchens and bathrooms to knowing the name of the owner of the site (and him or her knowing yours), to saying hello and having small talks with fellow caravanners and spending time together (and apart) as a family. Togetherness and 'thick sociality' (Obrador, 2012) is particularly relevant in relation to family holidays where being social is an essential part of holidaying (Larsen & Therkelsen, 2011; Haldrup, 2004). Family holiday provides a chance for authentic togetherness (Wang, 1999). Even though families make up a large part of the tourism market, the study of families still requires a more prominent stance within tourism research (Carr, 2006; Schänzel, 2010).

2.3. THE FAMILY HOLIDAY

Families form close and important bonds. Yeoman (2008) even argues that families are at the centre of human activity, and family has been identified as the most important consumption unit (Xiaoxiao, Lehto & Park, 2014) as well as a fundamental social institution. Therefore, family tourism is one of the most important sectors of the tourism industry. The concept of family can be quite fluid and mean more than the immediate family, it can include broader social networks and extended family members, not to mention multigenerational travel which is quite common within caravanning. It can encompass a diverse assemblage of people and there is a need to recognise this complexity and plurality (Schänzel & Yeoman, 2014). The focus in the dissertation is on 'Western' family tourism while acknowledging that more attention is needed to emerging family markets. Furthermore, 'family' is as mentioned defined in a broader and more dynamic manner where extended family members are included.

In academia, the majority of family holiday studies have focused on decision-making processes (e.g. Bronner & de Hoog, 2008; Decrop & Snelders, 2004; Jenkins, 1978; Hunter-Jones, 2014; Watne, Brennan & Winchester, 2014). Looking into topics such as adaptation and resolution (Decrop & Snelders, 2004), role distribution and strategies (Therkelsen, 2010) or the role of women (Barlés-Arizón, Fraj-Andrés & Martínez-Salinas, 2013) in the decision-making process. Additionally, there are several studies examining experiences on family holiday (e.g. Shaw & Dawson, 2001; Johns & Gyimóthy, 2003; Gram, 2005; Hilbrecht, et al., 2008), exploring for example group dynamics and family functioning (Schänzel & Smith, 2014) or family cohesion and activities on holiday (Lehto, et al., 2012). Within studies on family holiday, although still under-researched, the voice of children has gained momentum over the years (e.g. Therkelsen, 2010; Blichfeldt, Pedersen, Johansen & Hansen, 2011; Larsen, 2013; Schänzel & Smith, 2014), reflecting the recognition that children have a major say in different decision making processes, including the holiday (Xiaoxiao, Lehto & Park, 2014; Watne, Brennan & Winchester, 2014). This reflects a span of literature that deals with some of the internal dynamics between family members, however, within earlier tourism research there tended to be a romanticized depiction of the family as a homogenous unit (Daly, 2001). Going on family holiday thus equals being together with one's family. The societal pressures on parents to perform a 'happy holiday' are bound to idealised notions of contemporary parenting and of families spending quality time together (Hilbrecht, et al., 2008; Carr, 2011). Indeed, a dominant ideology of parenting has emerged that increasingly perceives holidays as opportunities for quality family time or purposive leisure time away from everyday distractions (Crompton, 1979; Shaw, 2010). As such, the family holiday is seen as a break from the everyday and the stress and conflicts of keeping up with rigid time schedules that rule life at home.

However, the family holiday is not always a dream of blissful togetherness, free of stress and schedules. It is more often the case that the idea of 'quality time' is an idealisation of family time inconsistent with the actual lived experiences of the family (Daly, 2001; Hall & Holdsworth, 2014). Furthermore, it has been argued that family members need time together as a family and they need time apart as the family in itself cannot fulfil all social needs of the individual family members (Schänzel & Smith, 2014; Aries, 1977; Barrett & McIntosh, 1991; Miller, 1995). This may become particularly evident on family holidays. Family holidays are on the one hand identified for their positive contributions to families but on the other, pose challenges in engaging all family members (Reis, Thompson-Carr, & Lovelock, 2012). This can lead to family members having to compromise, perhaps more than hoped for. Parents may even ignore their own needs for adult experiences to do be together and keep the children entertained (Johns & Gyimóthy, 2003). As such a family holiday consists of internal dynamics and conflicts. As Larsen (2013: 154) argues:

> "The social experience of family holidays is not a homogenous experience, but may supposedly include inconsistent and multifaceted experiences, constantly influenced by intra-family dynamics of children's and parents' individual desires and perceptions."

A family consists of individuals with different needs and wants and family holidays hold potential for conflicts, compromising and stressful coordination of different family members' wishes, wants, needs and preferences (Schänzel & Smith 2014; Gram 2005). In this dissertation, I use a dynamic whole-family approach in order to move away from individual perspectives that have dominated tourism research (Schänzel & Lynch, 2016), in order to emphasise social experiences and collective consumption of tourism. Consequently, the aim of this study is focusing on the family holiday in a more dynamic perspective giving space for and as much as possible, voice to individual members of the family, together and apart.

The family holiday has the impossible 'goal' of satisfying the needs and wants of all family members and these needs change throughout the family life cycle (Gram & Therkelsen, 2003). Research has indicated that individual members of the family may have different perceptions of a good holiday (Carr, 2006; Nickerson & Jurowski; Schanzel, 2010; Shaw, Havitz & Delemere, 2008). For example, relating to this study there seems to be a 'break' in going caravanning when the children become teenagers, which could be because of changing needs relating to one's leisure time. As another example, Larson, Gilman and Richards (1997) found that young adolescents find more pleasure in social leisure experiences with friends. Furthermore, studies show that parents want to relax during the holidays (Blichfeldt, 2007; Gram, 2005), whereas for children, activities are the main attraction (Gram & Therkelsen, 2003; Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Schänzel, 2010). Play and 'fun' (Hilbrecht et al., 2008) are main elements of what constitutes a nice holiday for children, made possible usually through beaches, swimming pools and theme parks (Swarbrooke &

Horner, 2007). As such, it can prove difficult meeting the needs and wants of individual members of the family.

In order to counterbalance hegemonic discourses on 'good' parents being ones who spend significant time together with children while providing them with memorable experiences, there is a need for some everyday time apart. This can however prove difficult as families might better suppress interpersonal conflicts and problems at home than when they are on vacation due to the larger personal spaces and more separate 'territories' at home. Furthermore, the division of labor and roles are not as clear as at home when families travel (Lehto et al., 2012). In this study, I argue that the caravan site is a unique constellation providing space for both 'family time' and children's 'own time' as interdependent entities that allow for the balancing of social identities (pursued through family time) and more individual interests (pursued through own time). Thus, children having their 'own time' provides more room for actual positive family time in between the precious moments of thick sociality and family togetherness (Mikkelsen & Blichfeldt, 2015). Concerning children's own time when caravanning I found that children spend a great amount of time engaged in 'unstructured play' (Carr, 2011). As Honoré (Honoré, 2004: 265-266 as cited in Carr, 2011: 18) explains it:

> "Digging for worms in the garden, messing about with tours in the bedroom, building castles with Lego, horsing around with other kids in the playground or just gazing out of the window. It is about exploring the world, and your own reaction to it, at your own speed"

In contrast, structured play is formalised and supervised by adults (Carr, 2011). Within the safe boundaries of a caravan site, there is room and opportunity for children to engage in play in an unstructured manner and in informal places. These activities transgress the mundane and provide extraordinary moments of meaning making. In accordance with Ehn and Löfgren's (2010) argument, mundane activities can in fact be rather complex wherein seemingly trivial moments hold great potential for deep emotional and bodily responses and engaging the senses. As argued by Gram (2005) some parents regard it as a memorable event to just let go and not be mentally engaged, a memorable non-event. As such, the ability to embrace a lack of experiencing may be an experience in itself. At a caravan site, there are no specific demands to experience something, compared to other types of holidays (Jantzen et al., 2007). Consequently, caravanning enables transcending the state of boredom to arrive at the pleasant state of vacability (Blichfeldt & Mikkelsen, 2013).

Children's and adults' need for fun and togetherness can be combined and during my fieldwork I witnessed several moments that seemed to fulfil the need of both children and adults. For example, flying a kite and building sandcastles or going to visit attractions. Furthermore, as mentioned, nostalgia has been mentioned in studies on caravanning, and it also appeared as a theme in this study. When making

decisions regarding the family holiday, where to go and what to do, parents often draw on their own childhood memories (Small, 2008). People in this study seemed to gain enjoyment in making it possible for their children to have similar experiences as they recalled they had when caravanning as a child. There was a consensus that going caravanning was 'good' for children. Experiencing a 'simpler' life and spending more time outside playing with other children were often enhanced as positives. These aspects of caravanning can be drawn back to summer camps (mainly an American phenomenon beginning around the 1880s), of sending primarily young boys away for the summer on camp for outdoor recreation, health and physical activity (see for example Paris, 2008; Hailey, 2009). Consequently, family holiday experiences are made up of experiences together and apart, often springing from what seems like very banal foundations. These quotidian outsets allow these experiences to unfold in various manners that can satisfy each family member.

2.4. THE EVERYDAY

Before we move into the themes of freedom and weather I would like to reflect on 'the everyday' a bit more broadly. What is entailed in the concept of 'the everyday'? When is something 'everyday' and 'mundane' as opposed to 'non-everyday', extraordinary and spectacular? Jacobsen (2009: 14) refers to everyday life as "the rhythms and repetitions taking place on a daily basis", such as for example sleeping, eating, brushing teeth and taking a shower. These daily activities have required hard work and effort to become something we do without thinking about it, to become everyday (Lefebvre, 1991). As such, everyday life is everywhere, inescapable and hard to explain or capture. It is constantly evolving and emerging, and this makes it difficult but also imperative to try and capture it (Jacobsen, 2009). In early philosophical uses, the concept of everyday life was a devalued term, excluded from knowledge as it was believed that people aspired to a more 'authentic' life, grand thoughts and spectacular journeys (Bennett & Watson, 2002; Lefebvre, 1991). It should be noted that this is tied to gendered dichotomies where these grand thoughts and spectacular journeys were undertaken by men. Opposing this, the routine and repetitive of the everyday has been coded as feminine (Felski, 2000; Morley, 2000). As such, these everyday (feminine) spaces where scorned in favour of the grander (masculine) concerns. However, the everyday began attracting more widespread attention and recognition from the 1960s and onwards, and in recent years a revival can be witnessed, establishing everyday life as a field of research in its own right (Jacobsen, 2009; Bennett & Watson, 2002). There is a slowly growing interest for the commonly recurrent pedestrian life and the unnoticed. Still, today you could argue that the everyday is routinely neglected, overlooked or scorned by many researchers (e.g. Seigworth & Gardiner, 2004; Highmore, 2002; Binnie, et al., 2007), which is puzzling as "everyone, from the most famous to the most humble,

eats, sleeps, yawns, defecates; no one escapes the reach of the quotidian." (Felski, 2000: 16). This is the paradoxical nature of the everyday being both omnipresent and nowhere at the same time, present and absent. We tend to overlook the everyday because it consists of the repetitive nature which happens 'day after day'. (Felski, 2000).

In the earlier days of tourism research, the everyday was also scorned. The general view on tourism and tourists was that of someone who searched for the exotic (Wang, 2000), unusual sights (Urry, 1990) and the extraordinary to satisfy a need for authenticity (MacCannell, 1976). In more recent years, these views still echo in tourism and leisure studies often focusing on 'extreme' encounters, opposing the banal and the everyday where experiences of travel and tourism have mostly been developed outside the realm of the banal (Franklin & Crang, 2001) and mundane (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). As such, tourism has been portrayed through counter-spaces of liminality, demarcated from everyday life and mundanity (Rojek, 1995), promising escape from rules and regulations and daily routines to spaces where you can dress, eat, sleep and act differently (Franklin 2003; Shields 1991; Crompton, 1979). In the same vein, within research on caravanning, there is a focus on the grand and extreme. Some studies have focused on long-term travellers staying for months and migrating for entire seasons (e.g. White & White, 2007; Onyx & Leonard, 2005; Mings & McHugh, 1995), thus echoing the wider nomadic discourses in tourism research. Perhaps because this angle has been perceived as more fascinating and spectacular than the everyday, mundane focus this study works within.

Tourism is often defined by contrasting it to home geographies and 'everydayness' (e.g. MacCannell, 1976; Urry 2002; Yarnal & Kerstetter; Jacobsen, 2001). Going on holiday usually entails leaving the physical space of our home, so that when we travel, we leave home behind. However, recent work has begun to challenge the traditional distinctions between home and away. Although it has been repeatedly argued that tourism is about escaping home and the everyday, people bring 'home' with them on holiday, both in the form of materialities and bodily performances (Edensor, 2007; Larsen 2008). As Larsen and Urry hypothesises, tourism "represents not just an escape from home but also a search for home(s)" (2007: 249). These arguments are based on the notion that the concept of 'home' encompasses much more than merely the material structure that makes up our home, it is more than physical surroundings, it also consists of feelings attached to it and practices engaged in. Home can thus be understood through social habits, small daily rituals and significant others (Berger, 1984). People naturally bring these with them when travelling and engage in everyday doings such as eating, sleeping, walking, pondering over what to eat for lunch or fussing over the children. Homing oneself on holiday is particularly essential for families (Obrador, 2012), as daily repetitions and mundane routines maintain the everyday rhythm that has a strong presence and importance in family life (Millar & Ridge, 2013). More recent research within

tourism has introduced the everyday as an important and extensive topic (e.g. Binnie, et al., 2007; Edensor, 2007; Pink, 2012). These everyday concepts are key to deciphering wider touristic experiences as they not only take up a lot of most people's lives, but they are also the basis from which many spectacular experiences spring. As Gardiner (2000: 2) argues:

> "(E)everyday life is the crucial foundation upon which the so-called 'higher' activities of human beings, including abstract cognition and practical objectifications, are necessarily premised. Accordingly, we must be concerned with redeeming its hidden and oft-suppressed potentials."

Everyday activities are entangled in familiarity, and are often unreflexively and habitually performed, providing a degree of predictability and comfort (Binnie et al., 2007; Edensor & Holloway, 2008). Extending this everydayness to tourism this also pertains to performances of how to be a tourist. How to walk, how to dress, or how to socialise are part of regular embodied practices (Edensor, 2007). As such, everyday mobility is an embodied, affective and emotional practice (Larsen, 2014). It relies upon a set of skills, which, combined with the affordances of the environment, enable people to move about in a predictable fashion (Urry, 2007). These practices require knowledge to become unreflexively performed and part of daily repetitions and mundane routines in familiar spaces. Conclusively, tourism is not characterized by the suspension of norms but these are brought along on holiday. Most journeys are not extraordinary or special but form part of our familiar worlds and often unreflexive, habitual practices of everyday life (Binnie, et al. 2007; Garling & Axhausen, 2003). 'the everyday as a whole moving alongside all of the other moments of the day-to-day. This is an everydayness that does not close-off but, instead, perpetually opens up: an open totality arising with every moment, a beach beneath every cobblestone.' (Seigworth & Gardiner, 2004; 150). The implicit familiarity and competences which are the hallmarks of everyday practices (Thrift, 1996).

2.4.1. EVERYDAY FREEDOM

Freedom has been subjected to several philosophical discussions and definitions including Berlin's (1969) notion of negative and positive freedom (Berlin, 1969). Negative freedom is to be understood as 'freedom from', generally from interferences, whereas positive freedom is 'freedom to' with emphasis on autonomy. This has often been translated as freedom to move. One moves to be free, one is free because one can move. These two concepts, mobility and freedom are often intertwined (e.g. Freudendal-Pedersen, 2009; Manderscheid, 2014; Rojek, 1995). This is further supported by the personal car, making automobility a symbol of freedom and independence (Cresswell, 1993; Ganser, 2009; Doughty & Murray,

2014), providing in theory freedom to go wherever one wants, whenever one wants (Hagman, 2003; Jensen, 1999). In this regard, freedom has been portrayed quite one-sidedly in nomadic discourses where rootedness and everyday local mobilities are disregarded (Sutherland, 2014; Sager, 2006; Mavric & Urry, 2009). Furthermore, this nomadic quest for freedom is most often undertaken alone, emphasising that being truly free also means freeing oneself from social ties.

Within these nomadic discourses, freedom is often enacted through 'extreme' encounters, opposing everyday life routines (Ganser, 2009; Sheller, 2014). In this, the aim is to break away from the everyday at home and 'getting off the beaten track'. However, as Jensen (2009: 145) stresses:

> "there is a need to recognise that the impacts of mobility to our understanding of place, identity and subjectivity have just as much to do with our mundane everyday life experiences as with the exotic and heroic traveller's tales that makes up the cultural stereotypes of the meaning of mobility"

There is consequently a need to illuminate the concept of freedom within everyday, banal and mundane settings. Travelling is not just about escaping home, but it can be just as much about creating a home away from home and seeking out a familiar space on holiday (Larsen, Urry, & Axhausen, 2007). The new mobilities paradigm seeks to transcend these 'sedentarist and nomadic conceptualisations of place and movement' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 214) where mobility and hence freedom can occur in micro, everyday, local movements. This feeds into the notion of perceived freedom which is seen as a key factor in leisure experiences and was defined by Neulinger as ''a state in which the person feels what she/he is doing is done by choice and because one wants to do it'' (as cited in Siegenthaler & O'Dell, 2000: 286). As such, freedom and tourism are highly interlinked. Having the freedom to go on holiday is essential, however, it is far from possible for everyone (Adey, 2006; Löfgren, 1999). Secondly, a holiday is very much tied up in expectations of freedom to do what one wants when one wants (though this is rarely straightforward).

Conclusively, freedom is often portrayed through extraordinary acts of adventuring to remote locations while the ordinary and the everyday remain under-researched. Challenging this, my research unfolds how experiences of freedom can occur in close proximity to home and through engaging in ordinary doings. The sedentary and the nomadic merge in a domestic realm where freedom is experienced through nesting and dwelling (Mikkelsen & Cohen, 2015). The paradox of freedom and mobility is thus balanced out by immobility and routine. Furthermore, experiences of freedom occur together with others, challenging the individual discourses of freedom and portraying being free through sociality.

2.4.2. MATERIALITIES AND EVERYDAY WEATHER

Within matters of the everyday, I would like to reflect on materialities. Everyday practices and performances such as waking up, taking a shower, eating breakfast, working, walking, cycling, driving etc. are undertaken in a reciprocal, skilled interplay between people and materials (Ingold, 2007). Everyday performances are shaping and shaped by the material, such as paving a shortcut through the shrubbery on your everyday to-and-from work, or taking the bus instead of the bicycle because it is raining (more on the performative approach of this dissertation in chapter 3.1). As already mentioned, caravanning is saturated with different materialities from amenities brought from home, over the material texture of the site, buildings, common kitchens, on-site stores etc., to the materiality of weather. Within research on caravanning and tourism literature more in general, the concept of atmosphere, or more specifically weather is under researched (Becken & Wilson, 2013; Jeuring, 2017; Denstadli, Jacobsen & Lohmann, 2011). Moreover, within the everyday framework of this dissertation, people's experiences of and negotiations with weather on holiday have been overlooked (Ingold, 2010; Jeuring & Peters, 2013). This is surprising as weather is a great part of everyday life and conversation as the weather in Denmark can be highly elusive and quick to shift, demanding a high responsiveness (Theilgaard, 2010). Furthermore, caravanning is a type of holiday where tourists are more 'exposed' to the elements of weather as you spend more time outside in nature (Viallon 2012; Triantafillidou & Siomkos 2013) having to respond to changeable weather. However, weather is relatively neglected in this context. In this study, weather is defined as 'the condition of the atmosphere at any particular time and place.' (Matzarakis & de Freitas, 2001: 4). Or put more pictorial by Ingold and Kurttila (2000, p. 187), 'weather (…) is about what it feels like to be warm, or cold, drenched in rain, caught in a storm and so on', accentuating the sensuous and embodied focus of this study. An atmosphere can be gloomy, dark, cosy, friendly etc., suggesting that it consists of more than the meteorological, it is also affective (Anderson, 2009; Adey, 2013). Atmospheres are indeterminate, emerging and transforming, they are always being reworked in lived experience (Anderson, 2009). This also pertains to weather, where experiences of 'good' and 'bad' weather are highly contextual and negotiated (Becken & Wilson, 2013; Saarinen, 2014; Lohmann & Kaim, 1999). As such, the experience of what is normally thought of as adverse weather elements such as rain, mist, and low temperatures is highly contextual (Lohmann & Kaim, 1999).

For tourists, weather is an intrinsic component of the holiday experience (Scott, Gössling & de Freitas, 2008; Scott & Lemieux, 2010), and 'the pivotal base from which tourists are likely to consider making changes or not.' (Becken & Wilson, 2013: 635). Very few destinations can boast of endless sunshine and blue skies, or, alluring peaks of fresh snow. Holidays bring about all kinds of weather, cloudy

windy and drizzling, demanding negotiated holiday activities interwoven with weather. As such, it is important to gain an understanding of people's everyday understandings of and performances in negotiation with everyday weather as most of these mundane doings are affected by weather (Vannini et al., 2011). Discourses on holiday weather have contributed to a holistic narrative of a home-away binary, wherein people are portrayed as travelling far away from everyday grey weather to sunny and warm places. However, mundane weather experiences on a micro level on holiday counter narrates these dichotomies (Jeuring, 2017). In my study, in an attempt to elucidate weather less as binary oppositions of 'good' and' bad' but rather as textured and nuanced, I argue that tourists at Danish caravan sites construct and negotiate routines, rhythms and responses to the shifting, everyday weather. Furthermore, people are attuned by prior bodily knowledge to skilfully weathering their lives and orchestrating enjoying the mutability of everyday weather on holiday. As such, I attempt to explore the affective negotiations and orchestrations of everyday weather.

2.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The concept of caravanning touches upon a multitude of themes. This made the construction of a theoretical framework a difficult challenge but also an inspiring one. Consequently, this chapter is a weaving of threads from anthropology, cultural geography and sociology. This assemblage of theoretical scopes has been undertaken over a longer period of time where some ideas developed early on while others emerged later in the research process. Furthermore, the framework is anchored in the choices I made as a researcher, based on my worldview and understanding of the topic. The aim was to present a patchwork that illustrates a cohesive and legitimate theoretical framework. Hopefully the weaving together of different scopes made it vibrant and colourful instead of scattered and confusing.

The chapter began with delimiting and defining the complex concept of caravanning. Caravan sites are difficult to delimit despite their physically outlined area, as they contain multiple dwelling units and dwellers. Exploring these sites from a dwelling perspective allows for looking at them as assemblages of experiences and practices, the doings and movements in everyday spaces. Caravanning is undertaken by a diverse group of people which is reflected in the richness of doing caravanning, and the everyday performances where a whole lot is going on when nothing seems to be happening. Caravanners share some motivational characteristics and even have shared concepts illustrating the caravan site as a small neighborhood in itself. This is also reflected in the everyday doings where homely practices such as dishwashing and cooking take up a lot of time. These performances are all undertaken together with, and close to, other people. This is highlighted in the next chapter where the under-researched topic of sociality

on holiday is discussed. Tourism research has largely operated in dichotomies of the individual and the 'mass' and thereby overlooked the dynamics of the social individual. As argued, sociality is an important part of tourism, particularly when looking at caravanning where being social is a main reason of going on this holiday. This is further elaborated on in the context of the family holiday where I discuss the dynamics of the family together *and* apart. The caravan holiday allows for families to engage in a complex interplay of family time as well as own time. These concepts tie into the consistent theme of the everyday, the mundane and the banal which have been overlooked in favor of the more spectacular and the grand. In this, I highlight mundane routines and everyday doings in a manner where everydayness is perforated by the unexpected and the spectacular. Within this framework, I discuss the concept of freedom by nuancing nomadic discourses focusing on freedom of the individual in exotic places. Instead, I illuminate freedom through mundane performances in a social setting close to home. A further contributing to the realm of the everyday is made by including materialities, more specifically the reciprocal interplay between people and everyday weather.

There are other theoretical paths I could have followed, or some I could have dwelled on longer. However, it would be beyond the time and scope of this dissertation to explore all relevant theoretical fields to the fullest. Having reflected on some of the theoretical contributions I move on to the methodological reflections and methods used in an attempt to invigorate the embodied and performed dispositions of caravanning.

CHAPTER 3. AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF CARAVANNING

Our 'lives, experiences and worldviews impact on our studies' (Tribe, 2005: 6), and this has certainly been the case throughout the process of my PhD project. Through detours, twists and turns, negotiations and compromises, flow and stickiness, the aim of this project is trying to give meaning to the lived experiences of caravanning. Taking a starting point in discourses I attempt to understand the verbalisations of caravanning. However, this holiday is much more complex and cannot be fathomed solely through talk. The smells, sounds and everyday repetitive practices are difficult to capture through words. As such, I attempt to weave my pathway into the lifeworlds of the caravan guests and explore the doings and performativities people engage in. But before I can move on to this I will shortly dwell on what makes up my pathway. I am a Danish woman in my 30's with some experience with caravanning, however, most of my experiences took place in my childhood. Almost every summer, my family (mom, dad and my sister) and I would pack all our caravan gear, the red plastic mugs and plates, the small stove and the tin pot we would make pretty much all our food in. Then we would attach our cream and brown camper-van to the car and drive, mainly to Italy. These trips stopped sometime around my early teens and until the earliest beginnings of this study, caravanning was not something I was thinking about or interested in. As I began my research journey, I was very much concerned with getting in-depth interviews, only to realise that no matter how long, 'deep', or personal interviews I did, the verbal came to a short in relation to showing the vibrant liveliness of this phenomenon. As such, motivated by wonder I made use of different methods to explore the abilities to help me come closer to understanding caravanning. As my research unfolded so did my respect and understanding of this topic and my earlier experiences resurfaced and revealed themselves so brightly that I longed to experience them once again. This further prompted my motivation to present caravanning for what 'it is', not making it ordinary for the sake of ordinariness or sensationalising it, but letting the study emanate from the lifeworld of caravanning itself while still maintaining the wondrous everydayness that I argue it contains. This brief outline is an attempt to acknowledge some of the contextual hinterland of this project and the choices made throughout the research process. Before I can go into detail with the actual content and phases of the research process, I provide an overlook of the empirical knowledge this dissertation is based on:

• 'Online nudging': A question posted on Facebook: 105 replies. These are attached in a separate file, beside the examples used and translated in this dissertation this is only available in Danish.

• Interviews: 145 explorative interviews with 318 people, 65 focused interviews with 119 people. Average length: 30 minutes. Transcriptions are attached in a separate file.

• Field notes and personal journal: 11 pages of observations, thoughts and small epiphanies. As these were mostly written by hand they are not submitted.

• Visual ethnography: Pictures and video recordings. All photos used in this dissertation were taken by researchers affiliated with this project. The rest can be forwarded by request.

• Miscellaneous: Small talks in the common kitchens and observations that were never written down. Furthermore, I have conducted 54 interviews and small talks with people who do not go caravanning at a holiday fair in Herning, and 9 low-season interviews at two caravan sites. These data have not been directly used and are not submitted.

3.1. METHODOLOGICAL BRICOLAGE

My research has been a creative and non-linear process where the researcher attempts to highlight and analyse different aspects of research in order to, at some point, present a point-in-time image of the findings. This process can be a messy and somewhat subjective one (Meunier, 2013) where the researcher co-creates the findings. For example, a number of themes emerged through the initial interviews because they were brought up by interviewees. The aim of this research is to unfold moments or glimpses of other people's lifeworlds, however, this can only be done through interpretation (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007; Hargreaves, 2006; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). For these reasons, an understanding of the research process and methods firstly requires an understanding of the methodological hinterland of this dissertation.

Throughout my research process I attempt to piece together the messy, nonlinear process of research, like pieces of a puzzle until reaching a point when I am, hopefully, able to present as complete a picture as possible as a "researcher-as-interpretive-bricoleur" can do (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:183). However, pieces of a puzzle always fit somewhere and if you finish your puzzle it presents a neat, finished image of something. This is often not the case with research and in particular it is not the case with this study. My research draws on the interpretive paradigm, where, as Goodson and Phillimore (2004: 34) argue:

> "There is no one set of methods that can bring total insight, the concept of objectivity is rejected, and consequently there is no perfect outcome – no 'right' answer to research questions posed."

As such, the messiness of research is acknowledged and in order to work through this towards a rich elucidation, interpretivist researchers attempt to provide detailed accounts of the research process, presenting research as it is experienced (Dupuis, 1999). Furthermore, as objectivity is rejected, research is seen as collaborative in the sense that the researcher and the researched work together in the production of knowledge (Schwandt 1998). All choices made in this study come from somewhere, or someone, the researcher. The foci chosen, the questions asked and the performances 'seen' are very much influenced by my context and the conditions that characterise this specific PhD project. Hammersley (2013) argues that interpretive researchers must try to suspend their own cultural assumptions, I could not completely suspend my cultural assumptions but I could bring them forward for myself to reflect on, and for the reader to see in order to raise these matters to a level of awareness. Thus, my research process are at times rather muddy and untidy, however I will argue that this paves the way for emergent, engaged and dynamic understandings.

In previous research, the quest to produce scientific and neutral accounts has often led to separation of the researcher and 'objective' observations (Galani-Moutafi, 2000). This subject/object dichotomy that has often formed the basis for tourism research frameworks has been problematised (Wearing & Wearing 2001; Crouch 2000). Researchers influenced by the interpretivist paradigm argue that "the complex social world can be understood only from the point of view of those who operate within it." (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004: 36). In recent years, there has been an increasing focus on trying to give 'voice' to bodies in research (Veijola & Jokinen. 1994; Swain, 2004). Issues of embodiment and 'the self' have gained momentum (e.g. Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic, 2011; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994; Crouch 2000; Crouch & Desforges, 2003). This echoes a growing interest in the sensuous where the body is often the basis from where these sensory dispositions spring. For example, Veijola and Jokinen (1994) pinpointed that holidays often revolve around bodily experiences, from sunbathing to dancing and drinking and a desire to immerse the body in contexts which have only previously been experienced visually. It is also important to include the works of social anthropologist Tim

Ingold (2006, 2010, 2011) on embodied skills within social and environmental contexts. The focus of this dissertation positions itself in a context of a recent tendency within tourism research alongside ethnography and human geography of focusing increasingly on the performative, the embodied, and the material (e.g. Pink, 2012; Edensor, 2007; Vannini & Taggart, 2012; Vannini, 2015; Ingold, 2006, 2011).

Emanating from interpretive building blocks I attempt to take my research a step further by drawing on a non-representational point of view, or 'more-than-representational' (Lorimer, 2005). This means attempting to immerse oneself into the everyday contexts by including observations and focus on bodily sensations. Furthermore, this means being aware that I interpret on the basis of my own experiences, thus reflexively bringing forward my own context. This is also why I use the term lifeworld continuously to reflect the focus on the mundane and the non-representational inspirations that characterise this dissertation. Additionally, in line with non-representational theory, I try to grasp these mundane, taken-for-granted background practices (Thrift, 1997; Cadman, 2009; Anderson, 2012). My research process, I would argue, moves from a focus on the verbal towards including reflections on the performative, the "presentations", "showings", and "manifestations" of everyday life (Thrift, 1997: 142). In this dissertation, I work towards highlighting the liveliness of everyday interaction (Vannini, n. d.) by looking at the verbal as well as the doings. Consequently, I define these elements as mutually reinforcing each other, providing a more holistic understanding of caravanning. Consequently, if you zoom out for a moment and see my work in a broader perspective, I will argue that I began my journey firmly rooted in an interpretive tradition but as interviews and my initial reliance on verbalisation became increasingly questionable, I attempted to move towards a non-representational anchoring of my research. Non-representational research may to some seem "obscure, opaque and unreachable in the current climate of scientisation, relevance and impact." (Xiao et al., 2013: 376). However, the attempt in this study is to enliven the fleeting, everyday, even 'boring' atmospheres and affective capacities to unravel the background 'hum' of everyday activities (Anderson & Harrison, 2012) that often gets lost or overlooked in the chase of the explicit, the dramatic and the eventful (Lofgren, 2008). As argued, I strive to bring forward both the accounts of caravanning and the embodied performances and practices. However, in this study the focus does not fall on performances in the more dramaturgical sense but more on the unreflexive, everyday performances of doing and moving. As such, this study engages in a blurring of 'genres' reflecting development and vigour. Having accounted for some of the methodological bricolage we move on to the influences it has on this study.

3.2. A REFLEXIVE PROCESS

As Hall argues, "The personal subjectivities of our experiences are vital to our choice of research paths, yet typically go unacknowledged." (2006: 149). However, in recent years there is a heightened focus on reflexivity (Olsen, 2012; Feighery, 2006). A reflexive approach typically involves continuous, intentional, and systematic self-introspection (Daly, 1992) beginning before we enter the' field' and continuing throughout the writing of our stories. However, constant inwards reflection might be done at the expense of understanding the world of the participants. In this study, I try to engage in a reflexive approach while maintaining an outward focus. This means making personal experiences, belief systems and motivations explicit and continually assessing the 'impact' those factors may be having on the work I am doing (Fraser, 1993), while still prioritising the lifeworlds of the participants. According to Phillimore and Goodson (2004: 17):

> "The researcher's standpoint, values and biases – that is, their cultural background, ethnicity, age, class, gender, sexuality, and so on – play a role in shaping the researcher's historical trajectory, and the way in which they interpret phenomena and construct texts."

To address these possible values and biases, I attempted from the beginning to keep a personal journal about thoughts, wonderings and epiphanies that occurred during the process to help understanding how mood and situational factors influence fieldwork (Wallendorf & Brucks, 1993). Some of these reflective bits are presented in my dissertation either weaved into discussions where it naturally belongs, or as what I call 'reflexive snapshots' to showcase my personal process.

Countering the eventful and the spectacular, this study looks at the everyday and the mundane, and if I keep going, we also have the boring, the tedious the frustrating and the downright nasty. I would like to shortly reflect on the 'downsides' to caravanning and the not-so-positive accounts I also encountered from time to time. These could for example be, forgetting your camping stove; long lines to the common bathrooms and when you get there the person(s) before you left a mess; endless rain trapping you in a small space for too long with your family; not being able to find your child at the site; high prices at the onsite stores; loud neighbours and more stories like these. This German mom travelling with her 15-year old son exemplifies some of these complaints when she lists what bothers her:

Loud music during the night, or in the morning at 6 o'clock when it should be quiet. And I hate it when people leave the toilets dirty.

As argued, caravanning is not a counter-space of liminality where you escape from rules and regulations and daily routines of the everyday. It is a space filled with everydayness and mundanities, both the positive and the not-so-positive. I also allow

myself to reflect shortly on 'bad' memories I have of caravan trips and they pertain specifically to the drive. As mentioned, we would drive to Italy for our caravan holiday and I remember that drive. The boredom, the mind-numbingly boring car-games I would play with my sister. The pain in my ears from listening to music on my Walkman for too long while trying to count kilometres or daydreaming about brilliant ways to get there faster. In connection to this, it should be mentioned that this dissertation focuses on activities, experiences and performances at the caravan site (and the adjacent beach) and not the before and after. People would give accounts on pre- and post-trip expectations and activities such as planning, packing and 'on-the-road' accounts. While it would be interesting to explore, what goes on before and after this holiday it is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Pertaining to my own 'bad' memories, as "the lives of tourists may be full of tension and friction, mounting irritations and anxieties" (Löfgren, 2008: 91) we need to be aware of these in order to present in this case caravanning in all its aspects. This also means including reflections on one's own struggles when doing research.

3.3. > > > > > Interlude: A Question of Power < < < < <

In the beginning of my research process, when asked about the focus of my thesis I typically answer with a small grin, 'caravanning', making clear my own sarcastic distancing. This was often met with jokes about whether I had met anyone in a "camping-suit" yet?

Re-visiting some of my earliest interview transcriptions I stumble over questions drilling into possible excessive drinking and being lazy – preconceptions that I held about some people going caravanning.

Figure 5 reflexive snapshot

This snapshot captures a reflection I had about my own earlier preconceptions about caravanning and how they might in the beginning have influenced the sort of questions I asked during the explorative interviews. My experience with caravanning lies years back and when beginning my research, I had some preconceptions about caravanning. A great deal of the doings on this holiday did not make sense to me and I experienced feelings of estrangement (Hammersley &

Atkinson, 1995). In the early beginnings, I actively upheld an 'academic' distance by focusing on this phenomenon only as an object of research and not one that I personally or emotionally had any stakes in. Early on in the interviews however, as my knowledge on this subject grew, I realised that this perhaps media-induced image I had of caravanning was either out-dated or never the case. This realisation prompted me to focus on listening and not judging. As Ely et al. (1991: 122) argue, if you want to understand your research participants you need to "attempt to recognize personal prejudices, stereotypes, myths, assumptions, and other thoughts or feelings that may cloud or distort the perception of other people's experiences." So, I tried to put my ego aside and opening up to listening and wondering, not judging and not imposing my "own wishes, desires and biases onto the situation." (Brinkmann, 2007: 139). This made me work more actively towards being sensitive by acknowledging my subjectivity. As such, I surrendered to my research, by using my 'self' more directly in my research (Daly, 1992, Dupuis, 1999). This provided me with a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under study. Qualitative research such as this is sometimes portrayed as dominance-free, however, there are dynamic power relations at play (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005; Kvale, 2006). Perhaps especially in the case of the interviews where I as a researcher pose the questions and set the agenda. As such I try to weave my personal experiences into my writing to make my research become more vibrant and alive.

> > > > > Interlude over **< < < < <**

3.4. WEBS OF COLLABORATION

This PhD project would possibly not have succeeded without a number of collaborators. As Thrift (2008) underlines, a banal but important principle of non-representational theory is that all work is joint. First of all, the project has been partly funded by Visit Denmark, The Danish Camping Board(Campingraadet) and Centre for Coastal Tourism (CKT). This means that besides from the academic outcome there are also more tangible outputs from the study for the external partners to incorporate in their future work with caravanning in Denmark. Externally funded research can pose dilemmas as it has to 'deliver' results to practitioners, while at the same time it has to produce research, an issue that can create dualities that can be difficult to juggle. It is a balance of wanting to provide what the practitioners need while maintaining a high level of in-depth academic research. As an example, the practitioners requested that we include a mix of caravan guests, meaning people travelling in different dwelling units and staying at sites of different sizes and amenities. Furthermore, they suggested that the caravan sites included in the study should be placed at a somewhat dispersed geographical location. This was achieved

and I chose five sites with different guests, size and location (see figure 6) in collaboration with the partners as they had deep and insightful knowledge about how to get the optimal mix of guests to include a broader spectrum of visitors.

The large number of interviews done during the first part of the research process reflects the influences collaboration with external partners had in the beginning. My voice as a researcher was heard more clearly because of the large amount of data. As an academic researcher, however, the number of qualitative interviews may certainly generate 'too much' data (Namey et al., 2008). This large set of data meant that I had to make clear choices about which data to use in order to sharpen and focus my analysis. As Miles and Huberman (1994: 11) explain, "Data reduction is not something separate from analysis. It is part of analysis." When it comes to analysis I would intersect the large data set depending on the analytical foci and themes at hand, choosing which data to pull out, which story to tell and which voices to silence. For example, for the article Freedom in mundane mobilities: caravanning in Denmark I only draw on Danish interviewees. As such, the large set of data did make immersion challenging and time consuming, however it helped me make my voice heard and allowed me to delve into several differing themes of focus.

As mentioned, having external partners also means that there is a more practical outcome to this study in order to meet their requests for more practical 'hands on' suggestions on how the Danish caravan product can be improved. This has resulted in three separate reports in Danish focusing more specifically on practical advice on how to improve the Danish caravan holiday. The purpose of these reports is to contribute to the knowledge on the current Danish caravan holiday and to make suggestions on how to make this holiday more attractive for both current and potential future guests. This was done through a study on motivations and demands from central guests: Danish, German, Norwegian, Swedish and Dutch. Furthermore, included in this study are reflections on people who currently do not go caravanning and how to make this holiday more attractive to them. The reports (in Danish) can be found here:

Report 1:

http://www.campingraadet.dk/analyser-og-statistik/campingraadets-analyser/
(Fremtidens campingplads – delrapport 1, maj 2014)

Report 2:

http://vbn.aau.dk/files/226566262/Rapport_LowRes.pdf

Report 3:

http://vbn.aau.dk/files/244888784/Fremtidens_campingplads.pdf

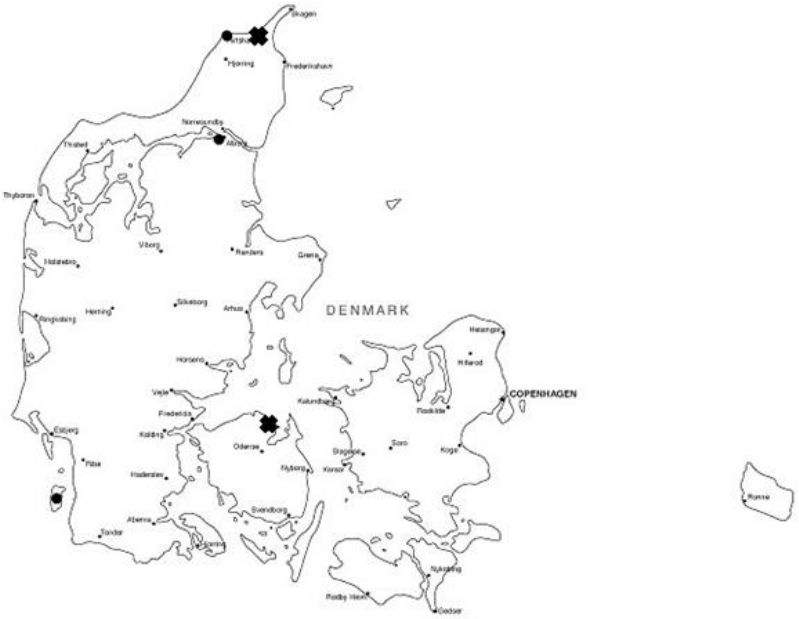

Figure 6 Map of field locations

Furthermore, the interviews were conducted with help from the supervisor and a student helper. During the first round of interviews collected in the summer of 2013, we went to the sites together, during the second summer of 2014 we went to separate sites. This collaboration had various advantages. When we visited the caravan sites we would split up and meet again after a few hours to discuss what we each had experienced and what we would define as main themes of the interviews, then we would split up again and meet up at the end of the day. This was very fruitful in that it provided different perspectives on what the most interesting themes were and how to get interviewees to reflect on these topics. Through discussion, differences in interpretation are worked out and a higher degree of rigour is reached (Belsky, 2004). This brings a diversity of perspectives to the analysis (Cornish, Gillespie & Zittoun, 2013). We also discussed how and where to approach people, what the opening lines should be and how to get out of 'awkward situations'. As an example one of the researchers ended up in a situation where by the end of the interview, she was invited to dinner by a solo male guest, which she politely declined. Afterwards

we discussed how to manoeuvre such situations. Besides from academic gains it also provided much needed company for venting frustrations and getting the occasional ice cream.

Figure 7 (from the right) the researcher, the supervisor and a student helper

Reading this section, one might wonder about the presence of the supervisor during the data collection. Pertaining to this, I would like to briefly reflect on the supervisor-student dynamics in the 'field'. As in every other supervisor-student relation there is a power balance to juggle, and in this situation, we took these relations out of the offices and into the 'field'. This proved challenging as it placed the student and supervisor in unaccustomed circumstances. It turned out to be a complex, interesting and at times frustrating process. In the beginning, we needed to establish what we each expected of one another, our respective roles and responsibilities. There was an agreement that the responsibility should lie with me and that I would make the choices I found fruitful. This could at times prove difficult in practice in particular in the beginning of the data collection the first summer (which also happened to be conducted in the beginning of the PhD-project). As Olesen and Pedersen argue, "When we produce knowledge with others, the power/knowledge relationship in the encounter is a site for complicated and complex negotiations and sense-making." (2013: 126). As a PhD student in the early stages of the project I could at times feel insecure and question my own abilities to make the 'right' choices, thus seeking guidance and advice in my supervisor. For my supervisor, there were initial struggles to 'pass the torch', perhaps because she had

to assure a 'product' of quality to external partners. However, as we moved further along in the data collecting I gained growing confidence. Consequently, open communication throughout ensured my gradually increasing independence as a researcher. Through this process, I learned to open up issues for dialogue and sense-making processes in collaborative knowledge production. I as a researcher had to assume responsibility for my own project and my supervisor had to "relinquish the reins" and trust me. I continued this collaborative disposition throughout my project resulting in the majority of my articles being written together with others.

One final consideration that is worth putting forward is that of having to analyse data that someone other than yourself have collected. When working with one data set that I had gathered myself and another that someone else had gathered even though I spend the same amount of energy on analysing each data set, when moving further in the process of 'selecting' rich quotes to illustrate a certain theme I was easily drawn to my own data. This shows the importance of doing your own fieldwork and how much this feeds in to the following stages of coding and analysis. You have a better understanding of your own data because you can recollect the situation in which they were gathered (even though we did add notes to each other about the weather, the mood, the interviewees). However, as hard as I tried to make sense of interview transcripts done by others, there is simply contextualities and tacit knowledge that cannot be passed on through notes to other researchers. Data are generated through personal interactions with the people interviewed (Irwin, 2013), such as for example what I would call the flow and vibe of the interview, the atmosphere, what was seen heard and felt (see for example Mauthner, Parry, and Backett-Milburn,1998; Hammersley, 2010). Was I as a researcher immersed in the interview or did it become just another interview to check of the list? (Which there also were a few of). Did the interviewees attempt to elaborate and unfold their thoughts and actions or did the merely 'reply'?. Qualitative research is a matter of the heart, it is heart work (Aitken, 2010), and the 'best' interviews with flow and a good vibe where the ones where I gave it some heart and the caravanners reciprocated. Having discussed the methodological bricolage, the reflexive nature of the project and the collaborators affiliated with the study, I now consider the different phases of research.

3.5. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The methodological framework reflects the different phases of research, where it moves from an explorative, discursive focus, to more in-depth, messy, transitional, even experimental phases to final phases of exploring both narratives and the embodied doings. However, these phases are difficult to outline and separate as they overlap and inform each other. Nonetheless, the aim of this section is to provide an

overview of my journey with pit stops, detours, dwellings, left and right turns and sometimes U-turns in the journey of understanding caravanning.

3.5.1. ONLINE NUDGING

I began my journey by posting a question on Facebook asking people to "tell me your thoughts on caravanning" in order to get a 'feel' of people's opinions as an inspiration for my upcoming field work. The Internet is a space of cultural context with rich and complex social experiences (Hine, 2000). Facebook is currently the second most frequently visited website on the Internet and attracts a global audience of over 800 million people (http://www.socialbakers.com/statistics/facebook/), and as a consequence, it is receiving increasing attention as a place of research. As a place where people spend a great deal of time expressing opinions, likes and dislikes, Facebook seemed an interesting starting point. The aim of the inquiry was to get an idea of the thoughts and experiences of caravanning, both from people who have tried it and people who have not, and develop a preliminary understanding of the world of caravanning that would inform the interviews. I named this 'online nudging' as it did neither qualify as interviews, nor as netnography (see for example Kozinets, 2010). Rather, it served as an initiating poking (to use a Facebook term), to set off the online domino effect which sometimes spread like wildfire. This post was shared by four people in my network and reached a total of 1546 profiles. Consequently, I was an active participant in posing the initial question, after that I was more passive. In the text posted I stated the purpose of my question. My nudging resulted in 105 replies, some rather short, 2-5 lines, while others wrote half a page elaborate replies on their experiences. This perhaps reflects the asynchrony leaving time for reflection before replying (Hewson et al., 2012). Some responses were positive, others expressed deep aversions towards caravanning. This reflects the heterogeneous ecology of caravanning. I received replies with everything from nostalgic, happy childhood memories, over claustrophobic disaster tales to sarcastic distancing from this type of holiday and the connotations it has for some. Others posted short, more playful and perhaps less sincere responses. This may be a weakness of the Facebook forum that for some it is a platform for more serious use while for others it is regarded as an informal playground as the quote below from 30 year old Roland exemplifies:

I've never tried it but I hear good things. When I have the money I will go and get me one of those bad boys. PS I love Germans ;-)

It is important to note here that since I posted this on Facebook and reached people mainly within my own and my friends' network, it will influence the people reached and thus the replies received. The majority of responders are young (25-35) females with an academic education. Furthermore, people write their statements in 'public'

(depending on their privacy settings), heightening concerns for social desirability (Joinson, 1999). As Walther (2007) argues, given the social exposure when online, enhancement of self-image should be expected. Consequently, the replies given in the public posts may be more influenced by this than the replies send personally to the researcher. Nevertheless, users address quite broad audiences on Facebook making stable personality traits key predictors of self-presentation (Kramer & Winter, 2008; Ryan & Xenos, 2011). Because of the text-based nature of these data they are missing the extra-linguistic cues of offline face-to-face communications (Hewson et al., 2012), as such, they lack depth and richness. However, as mentioned the literature on caravanning is sparse and this online nudging provided me with some understanding of peoples reflections on their caravanning experiences and some of the prejudice that also surrounds this type of holiday. Furthermore, in line with this it provided initial ideas of possible themes to focus on in the exploratory interviews. This also made clear the importance of being there, to experience the context, the smells, the sounds and sights and to participate in the enactment of these realities (Law, 2004).

3.5.2. IN SITU INTERVIEWS

The objective of this phase was to situate myself into the context-rich social world of caravanning (Ateljevic, Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). The first interviews were carried out in the peak caravanning season in the summer of 2013 and the second was undertaken in the following summer of 2014. In the first period, I visited five caravan sites scattered around Denmark and stayed approximately three days at each site. As mentioned, research on caravanning is sparse, because of this, and in an attempt to keep the study open to emerging themes, the first interviews were explorative, based on a minimum amount of control and letting terminologies rise from the world of caravanning itself (Vannini & Taggart, 2012). This approach was particularly useful due to the dynamic and rich context of the caravan site. The exploratory interviews thus opened up avenues of a variety of themes. As such, the exploratory interviews made me more sensitive to nuances, varieties and complexities (Kvale 2007).

Qualitative methods are characterized by being flexible and this is evident in this study as the preliminary interviews are more exploratory and later on they evolve and become more structured and focused. People were typically approached while they were sitting in front of their dwelling unit relaxing, reading or eating, or in the common kitchens. I generally experienced that people were very keen to talk to me and I had several interviews lasting up to two hours. The longest interviews were typically with people who were in rest, in stillness, relaxing in their front awnings with a cup of coffee. The shortest interviews would typically be with people who were on their way to doing something but due to the in-situ nature of the interviews

and to be polite they still agreed to do an interview, only to cut it short. It should also be mentioned that even though children were present at the majority of the interviews and older children (approximately 10 to 15 years) did participate, the voices of adults dominate the interview data (I will shortly return to this later). Further in the process the aim was to get more into depth with the main themes developed through the analysis of the first round of data. While the exploratory interviews focused on identifying main themes, the following interviews centred on fleshing out these themes. As a result, the interview guide evolved during this process. The data analysis mirrors my overall journey as I first drew largely on my interviews using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Boyatiz, 1998) and later attempted to disrupt and weave my data in innovative and enlightening ways. When initially analysing my data the digitally recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim, and the transcripts were read and re-read to further familiarise with the content. The focused interviews added depth and richness to the already established themes. For example, if the theme 'nature' emerged in the exploratory phase, the different meanings of nature were elaborated on in the focused interviews. During the analysis of the transcribed interviews new dimensions of the exploratory themes were unravelled. Interview excerpts were coded through assigning a word or theme to a portion of text. This initial coding was undertaken at different levels of abstraction, some themes emerged quite evidently, these would typically be the more overarching themes of for example, weather, nature and freedom whereas other themes were teased out as a result of a lengthy and challenging process. Reaching more abstract, theoretical themes was the next step, making connections among themes and subsuming them into more theoretical categories and concepts (e.g., masculinity, weathering). This could for example be done in the early beginnings of an article where my co-author would further discuss the themes and subject ideas to more nuanced and useful categories. As such, analysing my data is a continuous process of re-evaluation and revision (Barbour, 2013), one that is not yet finished.

Consequently, the interviewing phase consists of 145 explorative interviews with 318 people collected in 2013 and 65 focused interviews with 119 people collected in 2014. All in all, having collected 210 interviews with 437 interviewees provided an in-depth understanding of some of the motivations and experiences surrounding caravanning. Furthermore, collecting data in this manner where I had an intense period of data collecting and then a break from it before going to the 'field' a year later proved fruitful. This period in between collecting data provided a 'breathing and thinking space' where I had time to transcribe and get closer to my data and the overarching themes. However, even though I, no more than halfway into the three years dedicated to doing my research, had a large set of data consisting of in-depth, rich accounts of caravanning, there was something missing. What interviewees were talking about, the verbal had limitations when it comes to the unreflexively performed everyday practices that I could 'see' and 'feel' at the sites, but just seemed too difficult to verbalise. Consequently, I attempted to move beyond

people's accounts of caravanning into a more vibrant world of mundane doings and reflexivity.

3.6. > > > > > Interlude: The non-caravanners < < < < <

After having talked to quite a large number of caravanners, all positive about this type of holiday I wondered: was the picture too rosy? Revisiting the posts from the online nudging revealed a number of negative accounts on caravanning, both from people who had tried it and people who had never tried caravanning. To explore the 'other side of the coin' a series of interviews were done with people who were negative towards caravanning, experienced or not. These 'non-caravanners' were approached through different routes and had varying degrees of dissociation with caravanning. First of all a large part of the replies on Facebook (55 out of 105) were from people who were negative about caravanning, some to a larger degree than others. Furthermore, others were contacted via posters put up at two universities where eight people agreed to participate in an interview. Eight others were found through snowballing from the previous interviews and were interviewed via Skype. Lastly, 38 short conversations with non-caravanners were done at an annual holiday fair, these were not recorded and notes were written up during intermittent breaks. All in all 109 people make up the foundation for the 'non-caravanners', from longer interviews to shorter conversations and from strong dissociation to mild aversions. The following replies from Facebook exemplify negative attitudes to caravanning:

> I would like to decide for myself who to socialise with when on holiday and one of my prejudices is that you live so close at a caravan site that you have to socialise with the ones lying closest to you and even if you don't you're still forced to smell their barbequing and armpit sweat and listen to parties, fights and sex, even if you are not participating in these activities yourself.

Bent, 40 years old, married, with two small children

> Never in my life have I seen so many people so poorly dressed/undressed. Big fat hairy beer bellies on full display. No one

> bothered putting on a shirt when moving around the site, not even at the table was it worth the trouble to hide the misery. Women way past their child-bearing age wearing tracksuits letting it all hang loose, lumbering about with morning hair and eye boogers, wandering around the site for a chat and swapping Familie Journalen [a Danish weekly women magazine containing cross-word puzzles, needlework and cooking recipes, a TV guide etc.] over a lukewarm beer – Yuck I say!

Marit, 55 years old

These two examples are from a non-experienced and an experienced caravanner, respectively. They portray a quite negative picture of caravanning and accounts such as these prompted me to look into whether there was 'more' to these narratives than just online self-representation through distancing. The online replies together with the interviews and small talks provided me with an insight into why people opt out of this holiday and their incentives to do so. These inputs aided me particularly with my reports for the external partners by showcasing different understandings of caravanning rather than the overall positive narratives I would get from people going caravanning. Getting an understanding of people's bad experiences with caravanning or their negative image of it helped me provide suggestions to how this could be improved for future guests.

> > > > > Interlude over **< < < < <**

3.6.1. OBSERVING MUNDANE DOINGS

As this overview of my journey shows, the research process began using quite 'standard' methods of explorative and in-depth interviews. However, it slowly became evident that narratives and discourses only portray certain aspects of caravanning. As Law (2004: 4) argues, "standard methods are often extremely good at what they do, they are badly adapted to the study of the ephemeral, the indefinite and the irregular." Thus, in order to collect some more pieces of the puzzle in order to portray a more holistic image, other methods were used. As mentioned, caravanning means spending a great deal of time doing quite everyday, mundane practices. In line with non-representational theory I try to capture the flows of everyday life (Thrift, 2008). These everyday doings are on the edge of semantic availability, and the aim was to capture both performativities and narratives. People found it difficult to voice these embodied and habitualised practices, as Dewsbury argues, "performativity is nontextual and nondiscursive" (2000: 474). As these made

up a large part of caravanning 'doings', and are central to how we become tourists (Obrador, 2003), the observations naturally fell on these practices. In line with the interpretive paradigm I cannot understand peoples doings, without exploring how people interpret and make sense of their world (Hammersley, 2013), as such, I explore both their interpretations, their narratives and their doings. This resulted in participant observation (O'Reilly, 2005; Conquergood, 2002), or perhaps more in line with the nonrepresentational style of this dissertation; 'observant participation' (Dewsbury, 2010; Thrift, 2000) which emphasises the immersion involved in fieldwork, rather than the more passive gaze of the onlooking participant observer. During my fieldwork, I observe and reflect upon embodied, everyday experiences (Watson & Till, 2010). I stayed one week at Hasmark caravan site in the southwest and another week in north Jutland at Skiveren caravan site (The spots marked with an X in figure 6). I stayed in a small cottage which does have its own kitchen and bathroom, however, in most cases I would use the common rooms for showering, cooking etc. Furthermore, when I felt like I needed a break from interviewing, a change of perspective I would take a few hours doing observant participation, usually together with another researcher. For example, we would prepare and eat lunch in the common rooms while observing other guests preparing and eating their lunches.

As such, my participation materialized in more ways than one. First of all, I engaged in some of the same practices as the other guests, who routinely practiced regular, grounded routines such as cleaning, cooking and dishwashing, which constituted patterns and rhythmic ways of dwelling that are "habitually, unreflexively performed" (Edensor & Holloway 2008: 487). Only by actively participating can I better understand the lived, sensed and experienced worlds of caravanning (Crang & Cook, 2007; Herbert, 2000). This gave me an insight into the practices that constitutes caravanning. Second of all, in connection with this I engaged in small talks with fellow caravanners for example while doing dishes or cooking. The talks that accompanied this immersion were sometimes recorded and sometimes not, with notes on non-recorded talks written up during intermittent breaks. Small talks were naturally done in an informal, more naturalistic manner and through this developing a relaxed atmosphere. Not only did these talks occur in the common kitchens, they became more ongoing as we constantly ran into people, our 'neighbours' or the owner of the site. Furthermore, the smallest goodmornings and hellos also informed us of the unique ecology at a caravan site. Additionally, the social identity of caravanners are "signalled, formed, and negotiated through bodily movement" (Desmond 1994:34) of walking slowly, in a non-purposive fashion creating new paths as they move. The slow pace is accompanied by a consciousness of being copresent and participating (Vannini & Vannini, 2008) acknowledging one another with greetings and small talks. As mentioned, the voices of adults dominated the interview data. In an attempt to include the experiences of children, and as occurring 'naturally' as children occupy a lot of the 'public' spaces of the caravan site, their experiences unfolded during this period. Consequently, I engaged in what I call

'short-term ethnography' (Pink & Morgan, 2013), wherein the sheer length of immersion is not crucial, but more so the intensity and richness in which you engage in, leading to deep ways of knowing.

The observations provided me with an understanding of the unreflexive daily patterns and rhythms of the site and capturing the rich and complex textures of social life (Simpson, 2006). When there was a lot of activity on the site and when it was more quiet. When the pace was faster and when it was slower. The mundane movements around the site, the to-and-from the common rooms, the in-site shops, the beach, the swimming-pool or the playgrounds. Limitations were the 'waiting around' (Belsky, 2004). Especially on very rainy days I would experience restlessness, a frustration with not having 'anything to observe'. I found going to the common kitchens bringing some dishes or preparing food helped me in these moments. In this respect, it should also be mentioned that even though participant observation did provide an opportunity to immerse myself in the context and get an 'insider view' of caravanning I was an 'outsider' to the research settings as most guests were families with children or empty nester couples and very few solo travellers. I undertook most of the observations myself or together with another female researcher and as such did not fit in to the family normativity at the caravan site. This did however help me adopt a 'stranger position' making the familiar strange (Holliday, 2002).

As mentioned, besides from the field notes based on observing participation, I kept a journal about thoughts, wonderings and epiphanies that occurred during the process. These auto-ethnographic data help to express the interactional textures occurring between self, other, and contexts (Spry, 2001). The journal helps recording my trajectories and corporeal experiences. Exploring tourists' experiences auto-ethnographically "illuminates the fuzzy and liminal space that lies between tourism experiences and everyday experiences." (Noy, 2007: 352). Besides from the observations I took pictures of these mundane doings and a few short video recordings. As these data were collected in multiple sites by more people it has resulted in a large and complex set of data. This has both proved rewarding and challenging as the amount and complexity of the data made analysis challenging, however it has also provided rich data. The main data drawn on are however the interviews, the sheer length and depth of some of them provided such richness that I primarily draw on them. The observations, together with my personal journal, pictures and video recordings are thus supplementing the interviews. I gathered the pieces from the observing participation relevant to this subject and weaved them together, rewriting them to create a better flow (Johnson, 2005). The descriptions and experiences were all represented in the data. With the deployment of narratives, I attempt to provide for a lucid and vivid presentation of the findings to enrich the lifeworld of caravanning. My narratives are a writing together of both people's semantic accounts and field notes on the more embodied practices of caravanning.

Conclusively, staying at these sites let me once again experience caravanning, and remembering the liveliness and sensations of this holiday. From interviews, field notes, photographs, videos and my journal I attempt to create rich descriptive accounts of the everyday settings and routine interactions people engage in. Non-representational approaches allow for methodological endeavours driven by curiosity and multimodality (Thrift, 2008), even creative undertakings as I will shortly reflect on by use of an interlude.

3.7. > > > > > Interlude: The Poetry Contest < < < < <

At this point in time my research had moved from the verbal to including observations on the more unreflexive doings, and together with this I was also getting deeper into the body of literature on the embodied and sensuous. I became deeply fascinated by writings such as Ingold and Kurttila's (2000) research on the way Sami people living in northernmost Finland perceive their environment or Vannini et al.'s (2011) article on people's experiences of weather in Canada's Rain Coast. The poetry in these people's narratives inspired me to embrace the poetic understandings of caravanning. I wanted to go beyond a literal articulation of caravanning to perhaps expressing a deeper metaphorical and emotional understanding of this space. In order to try and get people to express some poetic thoughts about life on a caravan site, I made a poetry contest. I hung a poster (in Danish) on the 'information wall' in the reception at one caravan site calling for poets to come forth (with the promise of a prize).

ER DER EN POET GEMT I DIG?

Skriv et digt, en mini-historie, en kort fortælling om hvordan du oplever camping.

Eventuelle emner:

- Samvær med familien
- Gode oplevelser
- Spændende udflugter
- ....?

Teksten indleveres til receptionen.

Vinderen bliver annonceret her om et par dage! **Præmie:** Fire store isvafler og en omgang gratis minigolf.

Figure 8 Poetry contest

The text reads: Is there a hidden poet in you? Write a poem or a short story about how you experience caravanning. Possible topics: Being together with family, great experiences or interesting outings. Prize: four large ice-cream cones and a round of free mini-golfing.

I waited in anticipation and after one month I had only received three replies. The number of replies, however, is not of great importance, but it did not bring about particularly deep, emotional responses. The replies were summative rhymes of daily doings, and did not provide a deeper level to the empirical knowledge. This contest is an example of the wonders that drive my research. When my research got 'stuck' or sticky, a striving to try different methods and see the outcome drove my research forth. This was not a hope to confirm beliefs, uncover meanings that awaited my discovery, or seek out truths but to be surprised, allow for unexpected potentials and, in line with non-representational theory, being experimental (Thrift, 2008). As Ingold (2006: 18) argues "Astonishment has been banished from the protocols of conceptually driven, rational inquiry. It is inimical to science". Seeking out to be astonished by things I could not anticipate was a 'goal' in itself. This is particularly interesting when studying the everyday as one dilemma when researching everyday life is the question of how to both live it and study it (Pink, 2012). For instance, Gardiner emphasises how: 'we cannot simply "go to" the everyday; we are "always-already" immersed in it' (2009: 385). This dilemma may be met with the drive of wonder and the recognition of the remarkable in the apparently insignificant

(Lorimer, 2005). Below is one reply (in Danish) I received from Mads and Rasmus, three and six years old (and, I suspect, a helping hand from a parent):

Figure 9 Poetry contest reply

The reply tells a story of a happy family holiday which could perhaps be anticipated. It also does reflect some of the more mundane doings of going to the 'children-bath' which is a family shower stall in the common bathrooms and getting rolls in the morning. Although this poetry contest did not add a deeper emotional and poetic level to my research it did give me an insight into how one might attempt at alternative methodologies in order to see their 'outcome'. Perhaps this especially illustrates the process of being a PhD student, driven by wonder, dedicated to 'learn by doing'.

> > > > > Interlude over < < < < <

I began this chapter by arguing this ethnography of caravanning has been a journey. A journey from beginning in the comforts of what I knew best, namely interviews. These provided me with a deep and rich knowledge on a variety of experiences about this holiday and accounts on everyday doings and practices. However, at some point I reached a level of frustration in not being able to 'dig deeper' into the sensuous, intimate and lively performances I had myself experienced at these sites. These everyday doings were on the edge of semantic availability, and I wanted to capture both the performativities and narratives so this necessitated a re-visioning of empirical inquiry. Having a solid foundation of data allowed me to be adventurous and experiment with other forms of inquiry. At this point I attempted to immerse myself even further into these everyday contexts. This provided me with a deeper understanding of the unreflexive daily practices people engage in and gave me an awareness of the unseen. Parallel this my research journey, I undertook a personal journey as a researcher. While trying to grasp at this complex topic I had to find the confidence in being an independent researcher and assume responsibility for my project. through this doctoral work, I have found an academic 'position', one that is not static but continuously changing. At this point in time, I would consider myself a tourism researcher with an interest in the enchanting latent undercurrents of everyday life. Furthermore, I find non-representational aspirations and novel methods fruitful in unraveling the unspoken, unseen and the sensory, tacit elements of everyday life.

As this journey is a continuous one, I would like to briefly reflect on some methods that could have been interesting to take further. First of all, I believe that spending more time doing observing participation could have provided even more in-depth understanding of everyday practices and performances. This could perhaps be in the form of joining people on their bicycle rides or walks outside the caravan site which could have provided an understanding of the everyday movements beyond the site (and the beach), and how the everyday and mundane is experienced in these contexts. Furthermore, pertaining to the notions on skills and embodied knowledge it could be interesting to follow (other) novice caravanners and their 'struggles' in engaging in mundane everyday practices such as washing dishes in the common kitchens and engaging in the sociality on the site. This dissertation should illustrate a moving towards understanding experiences and performances of caravanning, from the more traditional methods to more non-representational ones with an aim to introduce the sensuous and the embodied. Law (2004) calls for alternative ways of 'catching' non-linear and messy social worlds that extend social science knowledge beyond traditional neat and ordered boundaries. it might be questioned whether the

non-representational allowed me to go beyond traditional methods of interviewing and observing, however, I would argue that it inspired me to be experimental, to explore the sensuous and the poetic simplicity I experienced at the caravan sites. It would further have been compelling to include pre-and post-holiday activities in my fieldwork. My focus lies on the lifeworld of the caravan site and the surrounding area, however it largely ignores doings beyond and in-between caravan sites. I could for example have explored the family car ride going to a caravan site. Do they arrive after an exhausting trip of 'are we there yet' where they have been confined to perform sociality within the limited space of a car or RV, or do they arrive at the caravan site after having quality family time in the car/RV. This may reflect the more or less conscious choice to focus on 'micro' mobilities and everyday doings within the caravan site. Furthermore, numerous photos were taken of awnings and the inside of dwelling units showing various amenities people brought from home such as pots, pans, radios, stoves, microwaves, books, vases etc. Although this visual work on materialism and homing oneself away from home makes for particularly interesting analyses, it has been beyond the time and scope of this PhD to fully explore it. Having reflected on some conclusive thoughts on the methodological research process it would be fruitful to discuss some of the more overall contributions this PhD dissertation has brought to research on caravanning and more overall to tourism research. I will use the concluding chapter to speculate on the opportunities and constraints of this study.

CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

This PhD has not only been a journey into the, for the researcher, in many ways unfamiliar territories of caravanning, it has also been a journey towards understanding the struggles of data collecting, the shortcomings of some methods and the overall struggle of finding and defining one's place as a researcher. It has been an insightful process with curious attempts driven by wonder and a 'trip down memory lane' in rediscovering the lifeworld of caravanning. A PhD project is meant as the first 'step' in a researcher's endless journey to better understanding and 'capturing' our worlds. My PhD dissertation hopefully illustrates a moving from 'business as usual' towards attempting to explore the embodied, sensuous, fickle, unexpected and tacit, and exploring the manifold of action and interaction (Thrift, 1996). It is a journey that is continuous and therefore this PhD dissertation presents a point in time, and a learning about learning process that has made me into a confident, independent researcher. This deserves an example; in this last interlude, I present the reader with a reflexive snapshot found in my journal scribblings.

4.1. > > > > Interlude: From Here to There < < < <

While trying to write the concluding parts at a point in time when there is little (valuable) writing left in me, I double checked if there were any scribblings I had overlooked. I came across a small diary note I would like to present here, as I think it illustrates bits of my overall journey. This note was written in the summer of 2014, when doing observations.

> *Caravanning is walking to and from the nearest water tap, bringing different large bottles to fill water in, or going to the washing rooms to take a shower. Caravanning is walking in a relaxed pace and saying hello to the ones you meet. It is moving around the site, using the pathways (or shortcuts) to do your daily pursuits such as dishwashing, showering, using the toilets etc. Caravanning is the sound of life, children playing, birds chirping, it is the smell of flowers or people barbequing.*

Figure 10: Reflexive snapshot

This snapshot exemplifies a few different things, it touches upon the everyday movements and practices people engage in. More importantly, it illustrates the

direction I was moving in at this point in time. I became more aware of the embodied and the sensuous, the sounds and smells. Reading this snapshot, for a moment, I was transported back to this caravan site to a time where I had worked with the topic for a while, and experiencing it for myself in a more immersed manner truly provided me with a deeper understanding of the thickness of this place, and the vibrant liveliness that is caravanning. Moreover, it encapsulates an essential part of this dissertation in that it shifts intermittently between the ordinary and the extraordinary, doings and senses. I mention walking, taking a shower and dishwashing and the sound of *life* and the smell of flowers. These elements are interconnected, it is in the banal moments that life is and that deep experiences lie. This is one important contribution of the dissertation in transgressing the everyday and exploring how the minuscule can stretch deep and wide. Having provided this short, perhaps more personal reflection, I would like to move on to the contributions emerging from this study.

> > > > > Interlude over **< < < < <**

The aim of this dissertation was to contest some of the dichotomies that still exist within tourism research. Within the overall framework of families going caravanning, I challenged the division of the individual and the 'mass' or the 'others', by exploring the dynamic individual and familial performances in mundane doings. The realm of the everyday and mundane was further explored in the quest to nuance dichotomies of the extraordinary/ordinary and home/away by zooming in on how grand experiences can happen in seemingly mundane settings. Staying within the everyday and reflecting my methodological endeavors, I discuss forms of somatic, sensuous, everyday routines, and movements cultivated and performed with weather on holiday. Attempting to tie this all 'neatly' together in a disorderly order, caravan sites are socially thick places where families dwell and perform dynamic interweaving of sociality and individuality creating a connected web of intimacy. These places are performed through everyday routines and mundane mobilities where extraordinary experiences spring from ordinary foundations, including the unreflexive engagements with everyday materialities.

As an outcome of this overview, I believe my doctoral work informs caravan research and tourism research more widely in two ways. First and foremost, this dissertation is a foregrounding of the everyday, a highlighting of latent lifeworlds that by virtue of their routinized mundanity have been overlooked. It is an awareness of ordinary trivial everyday affairs. There has already been done some inspiring research on the everyday (e.g. Bennett & Watson, 2002; Binnie, et al., 2007; Ehn & Löfgren, 2010), however, I believe that my dissertation is undertaken in a manner that not only foregrounds the ordinary and the routine but explores the surprising in the routine and the magnificent in the mundane, it transcends the mundane and

transgresses the banal. As such, this dissertation is a supplement to research on the extraordinary ordinariness. Now that I have attempted to illustrate and narrow down the enormously varied concept of the everyday, it could be interesting to ponder the future of this field of research. I am aware that this is moving into the more speculative and uncertain as the future of this field can, as it has so far, take many unforeseen twists and turns. Everyday life has become an accepted and still growing field of research. However, in order to maintain and continue this advance we need new and inventive perspectives on theoretical and methodological issues. This brings me to the second contribution. Although I acknowledge the 'standard' research methods of interviews and observations, and have myself indeed made extensively use of these, I still agree with Law and Urry (2004: 403-404) in their argument that current methods:

> "Deal poorly with the fleeting – that which is here today and gone tomorrow, only to reappear the day after tomorrow. They deal poorly with the distributed – that is to be found here and there but not in between – or that which slips and slides between one place and another. They deal poorly with the multiple – that which takes different shapes in different places. They deal poorly with the non-causal, the chaotic, the complex. And such methods have difficulty dealing with the sensory – that which is subject to vision, sound, taste, smell; with the emotional – time-space compressed outbursts of anger, pain, rage, pleasure, desire, or the spiritual; and the kinaesthetic – the pleasures and pains that follow the movement and displacement of people, objects, information, and ideas."

My PhD dissertation started out using traditional methods, however with the inspiration of non-representational geographies I would argue that I entered a field of innovative new forms of inquiry towards capturing the sensuous and embodied. By weaving one's path into everyday doings and in being open to the emerging and becoming, and trying to be able to be surprised by the unsurprising, I have contributed, on an admittedly small scale, to methodologies on capturing the unseen and unnoticeable as well as the spectacular potential it encompasses. This doctoral work in the end, is a crisscrossing of flows of mundanity and magnificent moments, an assemblage of experiences, bodies and materialities and a dynamic interconnectedness of the social, physical and affective that marks the thick potential for unreflexive, vibrant experiences.

Out of this discussion, I would like to draw a few promising future research directions. My theoretical framework reflects upon the principle question: What has been overlooked in tourism research? A field of research which has been naturally inspired by that which stands out, that excites and amazes, leading to a strand of research focused on the grand and the spectacular. To provide a counter position, I

explore the under-researched everyday, the close to home and homely, the routine practices but also the improvised and transformative. In doing so, the aim of this dissertation is to contribute with deeper insights into different types of everydayness generated by tourism. This was done in a manner that not only tried to accentuate the ordinary for the sake of ordinariness, but attempting to transcend the mundane and banal by looking into how undercurrents can bring potentially lasting, vibrant experiences with them. I would argue this strand of research needs further attention. The everyday has come into focus, it is slowly earning its right in the field of tourism, but what can it be used for? What does the everyday mean for families, and society more widely? In this dissertation, I focus on fluid family constellations, however, this needs further development into the diversity of family forms and constellations that characterize contemporary family life. Furthermore, as tourism researchers, I argue that we need tools for understanding and practising the complex and the elusive. There are multiple sensuous and embodied elements specifically to this topic and surely occurring in many others, that I did not include; sweaty, smelly soaked bodies, farts, fights and sex. Bodies are important because of their affective capacities which are "properties, competencies, modalities, energies, attunements, arrangements and intensities of differing texture, temporality, velocity and spatiality, that act on bodies, are produced through bodies and transmitted by bodies" (Lorimer, 2008, p. 552). This is not only relevant in relation to caravanning. It would be compelling to unfold the sensuous and embodied in diverse types of holidays and tourists, that tourism research traditionally has overlooked. I call for future research directions that could unfold understandings of how places are experienced through the sensuous and affective, situated body. A last interesting future field of research is that of materialities in tourism research. So far, we have seen notable examples of research within this field for example through actor–network and mobilities research (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006; Van der Duim et al., 2012). The materiality of everyday weather is a subject I find deeply interesting and had I had more time, this topic would have been explored further. As such, I call for an increased focus on sensuous and embodied materialities in different everyday-within-holiday contexts.

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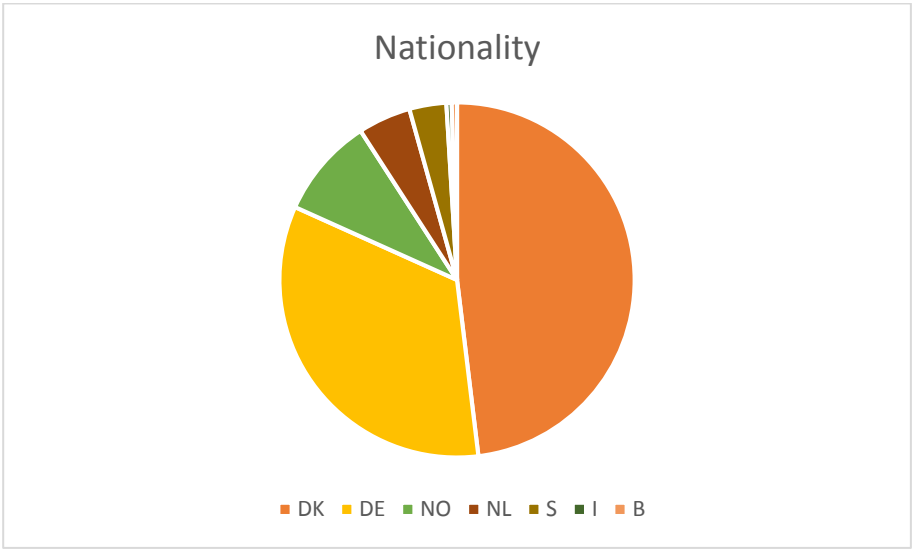
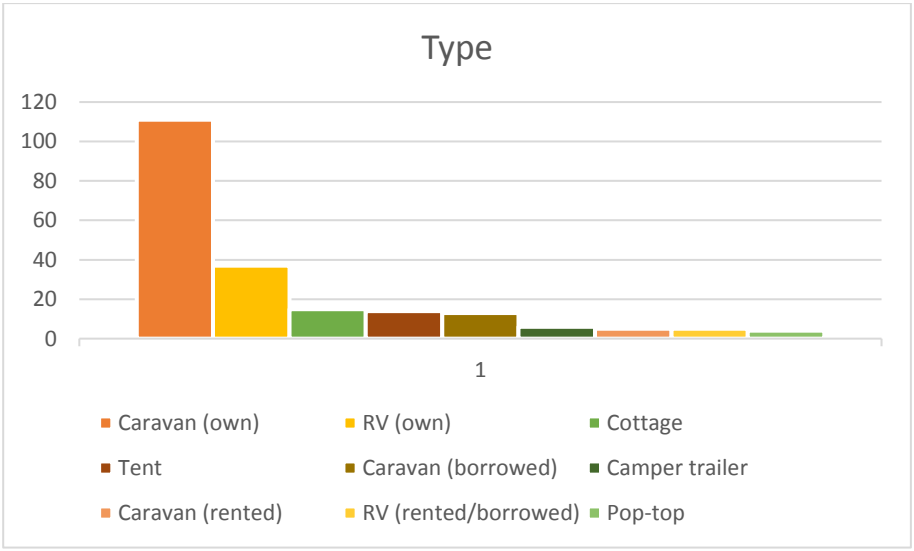
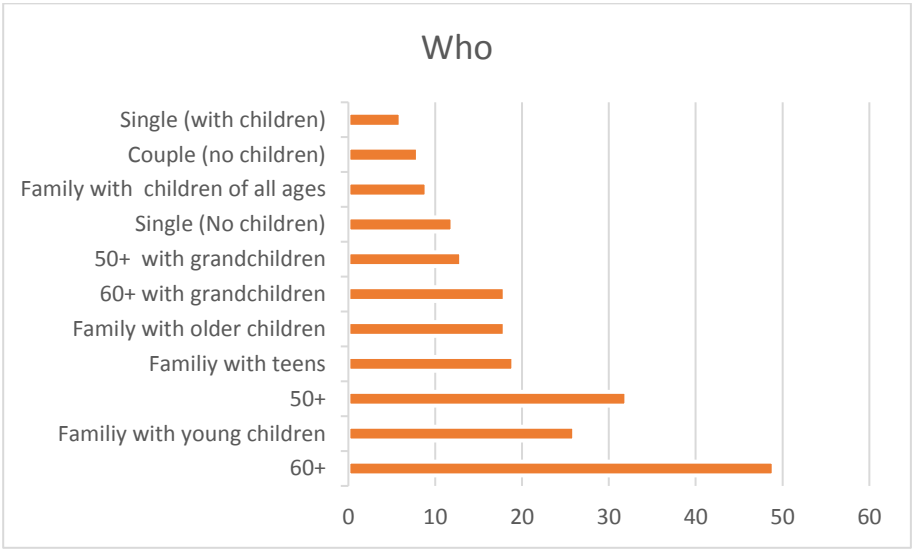
APPENDICES

Appendix A. Figures

Below are a number of figures showing the distribution of nationalities, type of dwelling unit and a simple overlook of the interviewees.




Type
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1
Caravan (own)
RV (own)
Cottage
Tent
Caravan (borrowed)
Camper trailer
Caravan (rented)
RV (rented/borrowed)
Pop-top


Who
Single (with children)
Couple (no children)
Family with children of all ages
Single (No children)
50+ with grandchildren
60+ with grandchildren
Family with older children
Familiy with teens
50+
Familiy with young children
60+
0
10
20
30
40
50
60

Appendix B. Publications

Attached next to this dissertation, the reader will find the five publications, they are:

Publication 1: Blichfeldt, B. S. & Mikkelsen, M. (2013). Vacability and sociability as touristic attraction. *Tourist Studies*, 13(3) 235–250

Publication 2: Mikkelsen, M. V. & Blichfeldt, B. S. (2015): 'We have not seen the kids for hours': the case of family holidays and free-range children, Annals of Leisure Research.

Publication 3: Mikkelsen, M. V. & Cohen, S. A. (2015). Freedom in mundane mobilities: caravanning in Denmark, Tourism Geographies, 17:5, 663-681.

Publication 4: Mikkelsen, M. V. Weaving through Weather on a Danish Caravan site. Submitted to: Space and Culture.

Publication 5: Blichfeldt, B. S. & Mikkelsen, M. (2015). Camping Tourism. *Encyclopedia of Tourism*, Springer International Publishing, 1-2.

Summary

Tourism encapsulates human experiences which includes both verbalizations and embodied sensuous performances. This dissertation explores embodied experiences of caravanning in Denmark. I suggest that everyday routines and repetitive doings carry much larger things with them, providing thick places. Tourism research tends to accentuate the extraordinary, the exotic and the individual, however on a caravan holiday people travel to be close to others, especially family, they have extraordinary experiences in ordinary, close to home settings and everyday performances in negotiation with materialities. While everyday experience may appear banal they are in no ways trivial. By adopting innovative and non-representational methodologies, this doctoral thesis explores both the verbal accounts and the embodied performances of caravanners. The dissertation points toward a richer understanding of the 'social' and the everyday which encompasses under-researched topics such as transgressing the banal and sensuous, vibrant materialities.

Marie Vestergaard Mikkelsen is part of the Tourism Research Unit at the Department of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University. 'Dwelling in Mundane Mobility: Caravanning in Denmark' is her PhD dissertation.

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